

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

UMI

A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600

A DESCRIPTIVE/ANALYTICAL STUDY: THE IMPACT OF
ASPECTS OF THEIR CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND EDUCATIONAL
EXPERIENCES ON A LIVING FIVE-GENERATION BLACK FAMILY IN THE
UNITED STATES, 1893-PRESENT

by

Martha Marie Calhoun Battiest

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the
DEPARTMENT OF LANGUAGE, READING AND CULTURE
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
In the Graduate College
THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

UMI Number: 9534653

UMI Microform 9534653

Copyright 1995, by UMI Company. All rights reserved.

**This microform edition is protected against unauthorized
copying under Title 17, United States Code.**

UMI

**300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, MI 48103**

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
GRADUATE COLLEGE

As members of the Final Examination Committee, we certify that we have read the dissertation prepared by Martha Marie Calhoun Battiest

entitled A Descriptive/Analytical Study: The Impact of Aspects of
Their Cultural, Social, and Educational Experiences on a
Living Five-Generation Black Family in the United States,
1893-Present

and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

[Signature]

4/24/95

Date

[Signature]

4/24/95

Date

[Signature]

4/24/95

Date

Date

Date

Final approval and acceptance of this dissertation is contingent upon the candidate's submission of the final copy of the dissertation to the Graduate College.

I hereby certify that I have read this dissertation prepared under my direction and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement.

[Signature]
Dissertation Director

4/28/95

Date

STATEMENT BY AUTHOR

This dissertation has been submitted in partial fulfillment of requirements for an advanced degree at The University of Arizona and is deposited in the University Library to be made available to borrowers under rules of the Library.

Brief quotations from this dissertation are allowable without special permission, provided that accurate acknowledgment of source is made. Requests for permission for extended quotation from or reproduction of this manuscript in whole or in part may be granted by the head of the major department or the Dean of the Graduate College when in his or her judgment the proposed use of the material is in the interests of scholarship. In all other instances, however, permission must be obtained from the author.

SIGNED: Martha Calhoun Battiest

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express gratitude to my advisor, Richard Ruiz, who, first, guided me through the initial stages of officially entering the doctoral program in the Department of Language, Reading and Culture at The University of Arizona. That guidance has continued through my doctoral process. A high level of appreciation is extended to my committee members, Teresa McCarty and Kenneth Goodman, who contributed greatly to the emergence and developmental process of this dissertation. Collecting data from members of my family for a pilot study began in Dr. Goodman's research class. Later stages of the study were part of my course work in Dr. McCarty's multicultural education classes.

I am grateful for the invaluable support and encouragement from my family throughout the experience of being a student again during this stage of my life. Special thanks to Bill, my husband, our six adult children and 12 grandchildren, my 10 siblings, and especially Mom and Dad who made this study possible through their roles as the matriarch and patriarch of our family.

I am grateful to Manuel Pacheco and John Taylor, President and Dean of Education at The University of Arizona, respectively, for sharing stories about their experiences as members of exceptionally large families like mine. I am indebted to former dean Luann Kraeger, my first professor at The University of Arizona; Peggy Douglas and Adela Allen, my friends, mentors, and staunch supporters of my educational aspirations.

Finally, a special heartfelt thanks to Jo Ann Hurley who has worked with me throughout my pursuit of the Ph.D.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of my father, the late John Douglas Calhoun, who died on March 4, 1995, exactly three months before his 102nd birthday, and to all of the members of my five-generational family who have always been my mainstay in life.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES	9
ABSTRACT	10
1. INTRODUCTION	12
Purpose of the Study	16
Statement of the Problem	17
Rationale for the Approach to the Problem ...	18
Definitions	20
Limitations of the Study	21
Assumptions Underlying the Study	23
Background Information	26
Introduction to First Generation	
Statements	32
Patriarch's Statement	32
Matriarch's Statement	35
Organization of the Study	41
Summary	42
2. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	43
Introduction	43
Contemporary American Families in the U.S. ..	46
The Colonial Family	54
The Native American Experience	63
The Mexican American Experience	75
The Chinese American Experience	98
The Chinese American Family	104
The Jewish American Experience	113
The African American Experience	131
Summary	147
3. METHODOLOGY	150
Procedure for Research Study	150
Stage I: Literature Review	151
Stage II: Methodology--A Qualitative	
Approach	151
Stage III: The Process of Analysis:	
Coding, Categorizing, and	
Labeling Information	152
Stage IV: Final Stage	155
Population	155
Survey Instruments (Questionnaires)	156
Interviewing	159

TABLE OF CONTENTS--continued

	Page
4. FOCUS ON THE FAMILY'S NARRATED SURVEY RESPONSES AND FINDINGS	162
Second-Generation Family Members' Stories ...	171
Eldest Son	171
Second Son	173
Eldest Daughter	174
Second Daughter	176
Third Son	178
Fourth Son	179
Fourth Daughter	180
Fifth Daughter	182
Youngest Daughter	183
Youngest Son	184
Conclusions	186
Reflections of a Family	187
Introduction	187
Segregation, Desegregation, and Integration: A Historical Perspective	190
Survey Responses	192
Study Investigator	192
Spouse of Study Investigator	193
Eldest Daughter	197
Second Daughter	203
Eldest Son	210
Youngest Daughter.....	214
Second Son	223
Youngest Son	232
Conclusions	242
A Personal Perspective of the Educational Experience: Primer to Ph.D.	247
The Fourth Generation: Profiles and Perspectives of Their Educational, Cultural, and Social Experiences	273
A View of Language and Its Usage	274
Dialect or Standard English	276
History and Usage in the United States .	279
Conclusion	283
Findings	285
Summary and Conclusions	286
Implications	298
Religion	303

TABLE OF CONTENTS--continued

	Page
5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	306
Conclusions	306
Recommendations	311
APPENDIX A: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE	319
APPENDIX B: CALHOUN FAMILY REUNION AND 100th BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION, 1993	323
APPENDIX C: A DESCRIPTION OF MY HOMETOWN, WYNNEWOOD, OKLAHOMA, AND ITS NEGRO POPULATION	336
APPENDIX D: ANNOUNCEMENT OF HOMECOMING SERVICE FOR JOHN L. CALHOUN, SR.	340
APPENDIX E: FOURTH-GENERATION SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE	346
REFERENCES	351

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1	Major Sources of Family Life and Religion in Judaism	121
2	Hierarchy of Study Participants	157
3	Doctorates Awarded in 1991 by Ethnicity	248
4	Medium Income of Households by Ethnicity	264

ABSTRACT

This dissertation analyzes a black family's social, cultural, and educational experiences including factors related to their successes and failures during the past century in the United States. These experiences span the eras of segregation, desegregation, and integration. Specifically, the study examines what this family's members view as their strengths and weaknesses and how each has contributed to their high and low levels of achievement in school and society. Such data can be useful and applicable to black families and other cultural groups as they strive to achieve in school and society.

This first-hand information can be valuable for identifying the specific issues and problems impacting the families being studied. Findings from these empirical data can contribute to the betterment of schools and society as families, educators, policy makers, and others focus on addressing these issues and seeking solutions to the problems.

Sleeter's (1991) research includes varying theoretical views regarding the value of voice and empowerment for the betterment of individuals, education, and society. Ruiz (as cited in Sleeter, 1991) theorizes that having a voice implies not just that people can say things but that they are heard (that is, their words have status and influence),

and Banks (as cited in Sleeter, 1991) suggests that "the position of the U.S. as a world leader demands that we deal more effectively and constructively with the enormous cultural differences in our society" (p. 297).

Given the cultural diversity within the American population, it is deemed appropriate to include for this black family study an in-depth discussion regarding other families from various cultures, namely, Native Americans, Asians, Hispanics, and Jews. Chapter 2 examines each group's experiences since their initial contact with the Anglo or dominant cultural group.

Findings from this family research study can contribute to the betterment of America by providing perspectives to enhance intra/intercultural relationships among various cultural groups in our society. Enhanced familial and cultural relationships can be valuable not only to my family but to other groups and their families as they seek success in school and society.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In all human societies, the family is present as a basic institution. (Lowie, as cited in Sarana, 1975, p. 46)

Given the acknowledged importance of the family in all human societies and the fact that the destiny of the human race is to be familial, it is astonishing what we do not know about the family. It is also rather amazing that the family has traditionally been the most under-studied of all institutions.

Almost two decades ago, Michael Novack (1979), a neo-conservative resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington, DC, predicted that "more and more attention will be paid to the family in public policy debates over the next decade or so" (p. 21). Novack further suggested, in The Family: America's Hope (1979), that

There must be many ways in a society such as ours by which we can help to make the family more central in our lives and to function more effectively. We can't take the family for granted. We have learned that so many things ignore and penalize it. We have counted upon the

family for 1,000 years, during eras when no other institution worked, not the state, not the church nor the educational institutions, nothing. The only thing that worked and made survival possible was the family. Now it seems the family is at a critical point. We must find ways to make its path easier in the future. (p. 21)

Novack's 1979 prediction that more attention would be paid to the family over the next decade did become a reality during the 1980s when, under the Reagan and Bush presidential administrations, mainstream family values and other family-related matters became important issues, at least in the public rhetoric of the United States' public officials.

Our nation continues to be gravely concerned about single-parent families, working moms, out-of-wedlock babies, and the escalating divorce rate. There is concern that the impact of human longevity on serial monogamy will increase and make family structures even more complicated. Ken Dychtwald (1992), a San Francisco consultant specializing in human longevity, observed in "The Nuclear Family Goes Boom" that now and in the future empty nesting may take place at age 45, with 40 years of life to go. He considers the thrice-married late anthropologist Margaret Mead a

pioneer of the kind of monogamy that may become popular in the next century.

In essence, as family relationships become more complex, the role of the family is also bound to become more complex. Karl Zinsmeister (1992), another scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, also discusses the state of the family, lamenting that "The data are monolithically worrisome. None of the circumstances . . . are healthy. There is no precedent for what has happened in any other time, in any other place" (p. 20).

It was during the eras of these politically conservative presidential administrations, while studying under Dr. Kenneth Goodman at The University of Arizona, that I felt compelled to research the history of my family. I undertook a pilot investigation of the factors that have contributed to our survival during the past century as members of the family have dealt with seemingly insurmountable and clearly controversial issues. The findings from the survey responses (see Appendix A) and the pilot study were so illuminating and impacting that I began comparing what is happening to the mainstream American family with the experiences and issues that my family has experienced in the past and is currently striving to cope with on a daily basis. The heightened awareness of the value of such information encouraged me to expand this

family research study, which later became the focus of this dissertation.

The problems facing many American families are unemployment, lack of adequate child care for working parents, affordable housing, particularly in the black community where prejudice and inequality continue to plague the lives of black families.

Although our nation's concern about families, their needs, and family values is increasing, research shows that empirical black family studies represent less than 1% of all empirical family studies (Johnson, as cited in Macadoo, 1981; Jones, 1991). In order to enhance black family research, I agree with Johnson, who proclaimed in Black Families (1981), "It appears that black researchers must take major responsibility for identifying the unique aspects of black families". (p. 97). There is a need for insiders' views about what the problems and situations are within black families. Staples and Johnson (1993) have suggested that we move away from the theory of the black family that is based on the myths and stereotypes that have pervaded the research of past years. We ascertain the norms and values that animate the process of family interactions and determine how that process is related to the forces that have shaped it and its various expressions in American life.

The present study of a black family--my own--is an attempt to investigate the

many things that injure and penalize it [and] make survival possible, [at the same time assuming that these findings will] help to make the family more central in our lives and, [most of all] to function more effectively and make its path easier in the future. (Novack, 1979, p. 21)

Purpose of the Study

The primary purpose of this study is to analyze a black family's cultural, social, and educational experiences from 1893 to the present. These years span the eras of segregation, desegregation, and integration. Members of this family, of which I am a part, have had the unique experiences of living under one or more of these systems. The study will describe how each system has impacted our lives positively and negatively during the past 100 years. It is my goal, as the primary investigator, to contribute to the larger literature my family's views about the inequalities and race-related problems we have experienced during the eras of segregation, desegregation, and integration while simultaneously striving to survive in U.S. schools and society. Information of this sort can be valuable for enabling our family to determine how to enhance our successes and decrease our failures in the future.

Statement of the Problem

The problems of black people are essentially the same now as for the past century. (Staples & Johnson, 1993, p. 239).

Many of the problems experienced by members of the family participating in this study began a century ago in 1893, the year of the birth of my father, the patriarch of my family. He was born three years prior to the United States Supreme Court's official declaration of the "separate but equal" doctrine of Plessy v. Ferguson (1896). The court accepted this statutory formula as an adequate legislative response to the command of the Constitution that no person should, based on race, be deprived of the equal protection under the law (Poslby, as cited in England & Morgan, 1986).

In essence, segregation can be described as the policy and practice of imposing the separation of races in housing, schools, and industry. Segregation is legal and institutionalized discriminatory practices against nonwhites in a society dominated by whites (England & Morgan, 1986; Prager, Longshore, & Seeman, 1986; St. John, 1971). Segregation is not legal today, but its problematic practices continue to exist. In Black Families at the Crossroads, theorists Staples and Johnson (1993) declare that, "In general, the problems are poverty and racism.

. . . Blacks are singled out for discriminatory practices in every sphere of American life" (p. 239).

These discriminatory practices and other inequities are ongoing barriers to achievement for blacks and other minority groups in our nation. Today, as in the past, this creates serious problems for members of these groups in American society. Therefore, it is deemed appropriate at this time to include empirical research to illustrate how traditional discriminatory practices create barriers to equal opportunities and success in our schools and society. Thus, this lack of access to such opportunities promotes failure for too many members of American society.

Rationale for the Approach to the Problem

Given that inequality and other discriminatory practices are viewed as deterrents to the success of many blacks and other groups, it is imperative to find alternative nondiscriminatory and racially unbiased methods to measure and increase minorities' levels of achievement in American schools and society. This rationale suggests that rather than relying on traditional measures (such as ethnicity and socioeconomic status) to evaluate blacks, research such as this family study can be viewed as a medium for identifying and discussing factors which contribute to blacks' success or failure in school and society.

The fact that different members of my family have experienced racial discrimination in many of the aforementioned areas makes it important and appropriate to analyze such past and present experiences to determine what is valuable for guiding us toward more successful living in the future. This information can provide to the literature an intra-culturally diverse "inside" view of a living five-generation black family. At the same time, these data can be valuable for influencing policy making decisions to improve intercultural relations in America's culturally diverse society.

A descriptive overview of families from various cultures, namely, Native Americans, Asian Americans, Hispanics, Jewish Americans, and Anglos, is presented in the literature review section of this African American family study to provide research-based information for the enhancement and understanding of family life in general. A historical review of the origin of family traits and values in contemporary U.S. society is also included. The rationale for such inclusion is that family history regarding their cultural, social, and educational experiences can be valuable for identifying the specific issues and problems faced by today's families in the United States' multiethnic, multilingual, and multicultural society.

Definitions

For the purposes of this study, the following terms merit definitions and, in some instances, explanations. Historically, members of the African American race and other groups have experienced the use of a variety of terms for describing and determining ethnic identity. Terms referring to other groups (Native Americans, Asians, Hispanics, and Jewish Americans) are explained in the discussion of each group. The following terms are utilized interchangeably throughout this study in reference to African Americans.

Negro. Pertaining to characteristics of one of the traditional racial divisions of humankind, generally marked by brown to black skin pigmentation, dark eyes, and wooly or crisp hair (Flexner & Hauck, 1987, p. 1286).

Colored. Belonging to a race other than white, especially to the black race (Flexner & Hauck, 1987, p. 407).

Black/black. Belonging to any of the various populations characterized by dark skin pigmentation (Flexner & Hauck, 1987, p. 215). Their use as research references will determine whether the specific term will be capitalized.

Afro-American/African American. Black Americans of African origin or descent (Flexner & Hauck, 1987, p. 35). Other more derogatory labels such as coon, bamboom,

moonshine, etc., have traditionally been assigned to African Americans since our ancestors traveled on slave ships from Africa to America in 1619. Another negative label (which I have chosen not to spell out) is often used derogatorily to designate blacks. This term, which I will call the Big N . . . word, is one of the most deadly negative labels that (even today) is too often applied to members of the black ethnic group.¹

Limitations of the Study

Every study has limitations because of what happened that should not have happened that did not. A statement of limitations is usually called for . . . because no single study can be definitive. (Miller, 1986, p. 106)

Being an integral part of the family studied can be viewed as one limitation of this research study. Acknowledging this possibility enables me to be keenly aware of the importance of avoiding interjecting biased personal opinions to support a particular viewpoint. Brodkey (1987) describes my dilemma in Written Communication: "Scholars go to great pains to defend themselves against accusations of

¹Note: Colored and Negro are also viewed by some blacks as offensive but to a lesser degree. During the late 1960s, Black began to replace Negro and is now the most popularly used term. Recently, Afro American or African American has become a new way to describe members of this group. They are gradually replacing the term Black.

subjectivity in reference to what they tell and how to tell it in a way to understand the story told" (p. 42).

In keeping with such views, I have determined that it is possible to present a perspective of this family research that will be as balanced as possible in spite of being a member of the family being studied. Yet, I feel compelled to acknowledge that it has been a very challenging endeavor.

Related research (Blockson, 1977; Goldstein, 1971; Talbot, 1989) regarding blacks writing about themselves and their lived experiences also proved to be useful for coming to terms with the issue of subjectivity while striving to sustain an appropriate level of objectivity throughout the process of studying my own family.

The scope of this investigation has been limited by the lack of full access to this expansive living five-generation family. Inadequate funds and time restraints have made it cost effective to focus primarily on closely related members of the first, second, third, and fourth generations, specifically, my parents, siblings, children, and grandchildren. Profiles and perspectives from other family members are included to provide viewpoints from each of the five generations.

Assumptions Underlying the Study

An important element of research is the level of collaboration and objectivity between the investigator and the subjects, especially when they have familial ties. As the researcher investigating my family's history, I have aspired to be collaborative and to maintain an appropriate level of objectivity. Similarly, it is assumed that the participants have been candid about the information they have provided for this study. Yet, I have attempted to safeguard the subjects' privacy by including information according to their individual consent.

The issue of privacy is addressed in Family Research Methods (Rossi et al., as cited in Miller, 1986), which states that

A key element of subjects' rights . . . is their informed consent. . . . Some researchers have written "we see the major problem as one of balancing the need to penetrate the private, pervasive and emotional back regions of family life against the tempting and often easy violations of a family's privacy and hospitality.
(p. 81)

When the participants in this study requested deletion or omission of specific information, I respected their requests, and that information has not been included.

A primary assumption underlying this study is that it will be viewed, particularly by my family, as a valid documentation of our family history for the benefit of present and future generations. An important aspect of this study that cannot be overemphasized is that the voices of the participants of this living five-generation family can present to the literature a not-so-prevalent perspective of their diverse cultural, social, and educational experiences over the past 100 years.

The value of this study is based primarily on the assumption that it will enhance our understanding of ourselves and our family members and have applicability to the general population by enabling other groups, particularly members of the dominant culture, to acquire a perspective of blacks different from the historical portrayal that continues to focus on the dominant negative images that are so prevalent in the literature, media, and other areas of society.

Fetterman (as cited in Bass, 1987), an anthropologist, affirms that the concept of inter/intracultural diversity is particularly useful, further stating that

Intercultural diversity refers to the difference between the cultures, intra-cultural diversity to the differences . . . within a culture.

Intercultural differences within the black

population are likely to go unnoticed although research shows that Afro-Americans constitute more diverse and complex socioeconomic class groupings than are generally known and appreciated. (p. 11).

It is also assumed that the documentation of the varying lifestyles within this living five-generation black family can provide further evidence that intracultural diversity exists among blacks.

The final assumption is that this family study can be a catalyst for dispelling some of the myopic views and assumptions regarding blacks that have traditionally been presented in the literature (Frazier, 1939; Moynihan, 1965; Myrdal, 1944; Patterson, 1971). Historically, descriptions of black family lifestyles have been depicted with emphasis on that which is different to mainstream American families and their value systems (Patterson, 1971). Staples and Johnson (1993) proclaim that in trying to understand black family life, there remain questions to be answered and answers to be questioned. One fact remains certain: We cannot develop a viable theory of the black family that is based on the myths and stereotypes that have pervaded the research in past years.

It is also suggested in A New Look at Black Families (Willie, 1988) that researchers focus on becoming more

familiar with everyday happenings in the lives of black people, the habits of family members, and the customs and conversations of the group in order to become sensitive to a variety of lifestyles among blacks and situational determinants of different family forms and patterns of adaptation.

I agree with the theoretical premise deduced by Billingsley (1968) that at the heart of any effort to understand black families in the United States might well be the heart of any effort to understand contemporary functioning of the larger social order. The future course of the black family in the United States is tied to the destiny of society as a whole.

Background Information

Intellectuals ought to study the past not for the pleasure they find in so doing, but to derive lessons from it. (Diop, as cited in Daws, 1979, p. 104)

The essence of this ethnographic research study is to provide a recorded 100-year living history of a five-generation family. This history can be available to review as we attempt to become more knowledgeable about our ancestral background. This information can also serve as a guide to enable us to determine the paths we choose now and in the future. I agree with Engram (1982), who emphasizes

that the future of black families depends on our ability to assess ourselves and the world through the lenses of our own existential realities and not the realities of others. At the same time, it is important for blacks to increase their ability to view the strengths and survival traits of previous generations as valuable assets to incorporate into our daily lives. In Science, Myth, Reality: The Black Family in One-Half Century of Research, Engram (1982) contends that "black families have been seduced to pastures that do not permit our self-analysis . . . to know how to prepare our members for survival in a system that has an ethos that ignores black humanity" (p. 15). The status of blacks in our nation has historically been impeded by inequities; therefore, it is important to analyze our background and experiences to determine how these impediments have traditionally hindered our successes and contributed to our failures.

Flexner and Hauck (1987) define background to be One's origin, education, experience . . . in relation to one's present character, status . . . , the social, historical, and other antecedents or causes of an event or condition; the complex physical, cultural, and psychological factors that serve as the environment of an event or

experience, the set of conditions against which an occurrence is perceived. (p. 151)

This extensive definition can be viewed as a catalyst for discussing how the experiences of my parents, the patriarch and matriarch of this study, contribute to the background information of this ethnographic family study.

Most studies of the family rely upon the older person as the key informant of the family (Mangen et al., 1987). This study did not rely solely upon my parents as informants; however, their longevity, status in the family, and knowledge regarding themselves and the descending generations did provide invaluable credence, information, and enlightenment for the study. The fact that our family traditionally shares stories and other information about our past and present lives, especially during our annual family reunions, has allowed me to collect additional important information for this study.

It was during 1989 when my husband and I hosted an annual family reunion in Tucson, Arizona, that I began collecting data for this family study. My parents were unable to attend. Their absence and the awareness that each of them was approaching the age of 100 motivated me to begin researching my family history.

Historically, black families have been staging family reunions since the end of slavery. These social events are

held on June 19 of each year and are called "Juneteenth Celebrations." Recently, the reunion movement has generated a number of spinoffs and other activities for families, including developing investment and retirement programs and providing scholarships for family members (Ebony, 1993). The family reunion is an important event in the lives of American families. On September 13, 1986, the national Council of Negro Women sponsored the first national Black Family Reunion Celebration, where more than 250,000 people gathered in the nation's capital to attend workshops and obtain information about strategies to strengthen black families in their communities (Hill, 1993).

For my family, the annual family reunion is important as a time for sharing information regarding our achievements, future goals, and, sometimes, other concerns related to emotional or economic needs. An example of such sharing occurred during the 1993 celebration of my father's 100th birthday, which was held at our annual family reunion (see Appendix B).

During that special event, money was spontaneously contributed to assist one of our male relatives who was returning to college on the final day of the celebration. These kinds of events and interactions support Noble's (as cited in Macadoo, 1981) recommendation that it is necessary for African American families to continue providing guidance

and support for the well-being of present and future generations. The coincidence of these events also enhances the relevance of Hill's (1993) theory that the assessment of the status of black individuals without using families as the major unit of analysis is often misleading because black mobility is largely determined by the pooling of resources by family members. Therefore, it is necessary for blacks to investigate, analyze, and assess their history. It is recommended in The Black Family: Essays and Studies (Staples, 1991) that

Blacks remain aware that their own point of view is just as valid as any other. Blacks must tell their stories themselves as the control of the story of their past is too important a task to be left entirely to others. (p. 50)

The stories of the patriarch and matriarch of this family study are presented in the first chapter to establish their relevance to the study as the sole first-generation participants. These stories are also valuable as a part of the background and history of each of their descendants. Each generation can benefit from the documented empirical knowledge carried forth from one generation to the next. According to White (1984),

Older people [like my parents] are the reservoirs of the wisdom accumulated during the experiences

of a lifetime. They are the storehouses of . . . tradition and the keepers of the heritage. The elderly are valued because they have been through the experiences that can only come with age. (p. 144)

For that reason, excerpts of the 100-year history as told by my parents are valuable for this study. Their individual responses to questionnaires and interviews have been compiled, and I have attempted to capture the essence of these responses through narration. Smitherman (1977) describes the important role of narration for many black Americans.

Black . . . speakers will render their general, abstract observations about life, love, people in the form of concrete narrative. . . . The story element is so strong in black communicative dynamics that it pervades general everyday conversation. An ordinary inquiry is likely to elicit an extended narrative response where the abstract point or general message will be couched in concrete story form. The reporting of events is never simply objectively reported but dramatically . . . narrated. (pp. 147, 161)

Introduction to First Generation Statements

The patriarch and matriarch are the sole members of the first generation of the family being studied. They know the history of the family, particularly regarding their lives and the lives of their 13 children. They are also knowledgeable about our foreparents--including their parents and grandparents. Their narrated stories are included to provide an inside view of the 100-year history of this living five-generation family. The following "narrated" stories describe aspects of that history which are pertinent to the central theme of this study, i.e., black parents, like most parents, want their children to "just do better" in life.

Patriarch's Statement.

I was born in Texas, in 1893 but left there when I was a young child. We moved to Oklahoma Territory in a covered wagon. I was 7 years old and will never forget that long, hard journey. We settled in the town of Wynnewood, Oklahoma [see Appendix C]. I attended Pilgrim Rest Elementary School in the Big Woods 15 miles outside of town. It was a one-room church school for grades primer through eight. I went as far as sixth grade. I learned to read at an early age. I have always loved to read, and the Bible is my favorite book.

In my days, schools were legally segregated. Nine of our 12 children also attended segregated schools; not only schools but all areas of life were segregated for black people. We could not enter the front doors of white folks homes or businesses, like cafes, only banks, grocery stores, and the post office. We also had to sit in the backs of buses and use separate restrooms and water fountains. Segregation was an evil force in America that still exists today, although it is not legal by law.

The good thing about segregation was that black people were close, and in our town, we had a strong black community. The schools were separate and unequal, but we had good, caring teachers, and our children were safe. We basically ran our own schools although we were always under the [scrutiny and] authority of the white superintendent.

When I was a boy, my daddy was a sharecropper. He believed in hard work, and that's what he taught me. I had to go to work in the fields at an early age. A grade school education was as far as most black children went in school. My parents did not expect me to go any

higher. I was more like my parents toward my children's education, but my wife encouraged them to go as high as they could in school. I am proud of my children's accomplishments and realize that she was right to encourage them to get a good education. She always told our children to just "do better." Today, some things in society are better, but families are having a hard time just trying to raise their children. In all my days, this is the worst I've seen--even through the 20s and 30s, including prohibition, bootlegging, and the Depression. People still respected their neighbors, and children obeyed their parents. I think it's the drugs, ongoing discrimination, and inequality that's hurting our families and the nation.

In my day, we just talked regular talk. Nobody discussed black English. Today, kids have to know how to speak right to make it in the world. It's good to see some blacks making progress in America. On the other hand, it's real bad for many blacks and other Americans. We have too many homeless people, gangs, dropouts, and teenage parents in our communities. I worry about

the future of my people and country if things don't change.

Matriarch's Statement.

I am proud of the school I attended as a child. It was called Rock Elementary School. The building was made of rocks. It is still standing there in the Big Woods--just outside my hometown, Wynnewood, Oklahoma. I show it to my grandchildren when they come to visit. I completed the sixth grade there. I have lived in the Wynnewood area all my life except when I visit my children and other relatives in different states. I don't like cities--too much concrete. It's not healthy for people to walk on concrete all the time. I like living close to the earth.

I grew up in the country outside of Wynnewood. My dad's 20 acres--the last of his land--is still there. My dad was a prosperous farmer. He was a hard task master. He didn't send his older children to school past sixth grade. Later, my younger sisters even went to high school and later took secretarial courses at a business school. Papa didn't believe in girls getting too much education. On the other hand, he didn't want us to work in white folk's kitchens.

We didn't call speech black English or dialect. They taught my children to speak correctly in school though. They [my children] would correct my speech, and I would tell them to just "do better." That's all I ever wanted--was for my children to get an education and "do better" in life than we have.

When I married and had a family, I had to work to help support us. I worked as a chef. that's how I took care of my family and sent the children through school. My husband did not always have work. Our lives were hard. Yet we survived and sent our children to school. That was very important to me. I wanted them to "do better" than we had. Our boys did not seem to value education as much as the girls. Only three of them went to college. One son has a degree, but all my daughters attended college. Four have one or more degrees. During the 40s, we had three children in college at the same time. That was not an easy time in our lives.

I didn't like segregation because the schools were better for whites than blacks. During that time, things were better for blacks socially because we had our own school and teachers.

Families went to church together. Children felt secure, even though we were poor. Integration actually hurt our town because it was not done right. We lost our schools, and black teachers had to go to the city to work. They did not really want our children at the white secondary schools, and the black children didn't want to go there. The elementary schools remained segregated for a few years.

In the past, under segregation, the black children attended school on split schedules of seven months from November through May and two months during the summer. Our town did not have a payroll for black men. My husband was not able to support our family on a year 'round basis. Therefore, our children had to work in the fields and in white folk's homes to help out. They went to school on split sessions. That was so that black families could gather the white folks' cotton crops in the fall. I was against that. I wanted my children in school for straight nine months--from September to May. It's funny that when integration came, all children did go to school on the same schedule, and blacks still survived--as I knew that we would. We, as a race,

are survivors. Of course, better job opportunities became available.

Things are better, today, for blacks in our community. There are more jobs available for our people, but there is also moral decay. Our school only have two black elementary teachers. Children often drop out of high school, and teenage pregnancy is too common. I always wanted my children to stay here, but no matter how educated or qualified they became, certain jobs were not available to them. In spite of its history, I love my hometown. My children and grandchildren love to come and visit. The family reunion is held here each year, and members from all five generations attend.

My children say, "Mom, Wynnewood taught us how to live anywhere, and we choose to live elsewhere." I regret that things are the way they are and wish they were different. I have to respect and accept my children's decisions to live their lives according to what works for each of them.

When I questioned my mother about the things that she "wanted to be different," the response was attitudes, jobs, and opportunities. The realization that neither of my

parents alluded to the term racism in their conversations (even with further questioning) amazes me since they lived under the system of segregation longer than any other members of the family. Then I remembered that we did not use the term racism when I was a child. Yet racism was an integral part of our lives under the system of segregation.

Our lack of focus on the issue of racism in spite of our awareness of its existence can possibly be attributed to our parents' attitudes. My mother's premise was, "It [segregation] is the law, and we have to obey the law, even when it's wrong." St. John's (1975) view is that "parents are assumed . . . to be the primary source of racial attitudes in children" (p. 65). Another view is that lack of focus on racism among those who experience segregation is expressed as follows.

Minority group members are more likely to experience race or ethnic prejudice when they are surrounded by members of the majority group. . . . One reason that the self-esteem of black children in segregated settings tends to be higher than in desegregated settings is that in the segregated setting, the black child is comparatively insulated from the broad range of prejudice that exists elsewhere. . . . The desegregated experience, then, is one of enhanced

awareness of the broader society's negative attitudes toward one's race. (Rosenberg, as cited in Prager et al., 1986, pp. 186-187)

Upon reflection, it is also interesting to note that I did not include questions regarding racism or the effects of racism on the questionnaires for this study. The issue has become illuminated as the research findings (empirical and literature-based) have indicated that many of the societal, cultural, and educational experiences and problems faced by this living five-generation family stem primarily from institutional racism and other discriminatory factors. According to Hill (1993), institutional discrimination refers to the laws, regulations, policies, and informal practices of organizations and institutions that result in differential adverse treatment of racial and ethnic minorities. Jones (1972) contends that "cultural racism refers to the norms, values, beliefs, or customs of the dominant society that are deemed superior to those of racial and ethnic minorities.

It is the attitudes, beliefs, values, and customs of the dominant society since colonization that the next chapter initially discusses with regard to the current status and history of the family in the United States. Chapter 2 also includes a literature review of issues related to other cultural groups (Native Americans, Asian

American, Hispanics, and Jewish Americans) and their perspectives regarding the impact that the dominant group's views and practices in the mainstream American society have had on their lives and the achievement levels of their family members.

Organization of the Study

Chapter 1 has presented the purpose of this ethnographic case study, the problem being studied, and a rationale for the approach to the problem. The limitations, assumptions, background information, and definitions of terms are also included.

Chapter 2 contains the literature review. This chapter discusses the current status of the family, a research-based review of families from different ethnic groups, namely, Native Americans, Asian Americans, Hispanics, Jewish Americans, and Anglos. The final phase of Chapter 2 focuses primarily on the African American family and its history and present status in the United States.

Chapter 3 describes the population, measuring instruments, and methodology for the study. The final phase of Chapter 3 focuses on the analysis and a discussion of the themes and patterns as related to black family research.

Chapter 4 encompasses the body of research findings for the study, including highlights of narrated stories representing each generation presented. Research regarding

intra-generational and inter-generational relationships is also included with in-depth discussions related to the impact of legal segregation, desegregation, and integration on the lives of the members of the families represented in this study.

Chapter 5 provides the conclusion and recommendations.

Summary

Chapter 1 discusses the purpose of the study, which is to analyze a family for factors related to their successes and failures. It also examines what the family views as the strengths and weaknesses of its members and how each contributes to his or her high or low levels of achievement in school and society. Narrated stories from the patriarch and matriarch of this living five-generation family are included as background information.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

Families must not be studied only in terms of their history and their present, but be considered in terms of their future--their anticipations, desires, and expectations for family growth and stability in a just and humane society. (King, as cited in Bass, Wyatt, & Powell, 1982, pp. 115-116)

The present and future status of the family is an issue of grave concern in the United States today. Diminishing family solidarity, the level of domestic violence, the rising divorce rate, the increasing number of working mothers, latch-key children, health care, teen pregnancies, drugs, school dropouts, and gang violence are only some of the many ills faced by families in America.

The society in which a family lives determines to some degree the values, beliefs, and daily functioning of that family. In his book, The Family and Public Policy, Dempsey (1981) writes about the changing realities of family life, indicating that U.S. society is constantly changing. The roles of families and individual family members are growing, adapting, and evolving in new and different ways to meet the

challenges of our age. Dempsey describes the family in the following manner, suggesting that public and private policies need to become more of the solution for some of the problems families are experiencing.

The family is the oldest, most fundamental human institution, our most precious national resource. Families serve as a source of strength and support for their members and society. American families are pluralistic in nature [and] reflect . . . cultural, ethnic and regional differences in structure and lifestyle. Many families are exposed to various and diverse forms of discrimination. These can affect individual family members as well as the family unit as a whole.

The policies of government and major private institutions have profound effects on families. Increased sensitivity to the needs of families is needed, as well as ongoing research and action to address the negative impact of public and institutional policies. (p. 73)

The well-being of the family has become a national issue of more intense and widespread interest in recent years. Past and present United States presidents, national and state legislators, and local representatives have

undertaken the task of addressing, to some degree, family-related issues. During President Jimmy Carter's administration, the White House Conference on Families was held, and over 100,000 participants from all over the nation were involved. The President expressed that the main purpose of the conference was to examine the strengths of the American family, the difficulties they face, and the ways in which family life is affected by public policy (Carter, as cited in Dempsey, 1981).

This chapter examines family-related issues similar to those described by former United States President Carter more than a decade ago. The review of related literature for this study initially presents some of the challenging issues that families in the United States are striving to resolve. This review also provides a description of contemporary U.S. families, including general family-related research and media-documented commentary, i.e., radio, television, newspaper, and magazine reports.

The second phase of Chapter 2 provides a historical perspective of the early (colonial) American family, describing family migration patterns and experiences as they migrated from Europe to what was to them a "New World." The experiences of the colonial immigrants are compared and contrasted with other ethnic groups and their families' experiences as they migrated and settled in America. This

review also provides a historical perspective of the impact of the initial contact experiences of minority groups with European Americans--beginning with the period when the latter group was a minority and the indigenous groups were a majority on this continent. The comparison is multidimensional and includes descriptions of the similarities and differences among groups (African Americans, Hispanics, Asian Americans, Jewish Americans, and Anglos), as well as a discussion regarding the impact of dominance on the lifestyles of groups from various cultures and other factors related to each group's efforts to adapt and fulfill "their anticipations, desires, and expectations for family growth and stability in a just and humane society" (King, as cited in Bass et al., 1982).

Given that the primary focus of this family study is a descriptive historical analysis of an African American family's cultural, social, and educational experiences, the final phase of Chapter 2 progresses to a more in-depth review of the literature specifically related to the black family as a social institution--its past, present, and future status in U.S. society.

Contemporary Families in the U.S.

When United States President Bill Clinton spoke at the 1994 National Black Baptist Convention, he emphasized the need for the nation to return to the mores of the

"traditional family." Later in 1994, former Vice President Dan Quayle announced his candidacy for the presidency in 1996 with continued emphasis on "family values" as a component of his campaign strategy. In 1992, Quayle's bid for the vice presidency was based primarily on family-value issues.

Klein (as cited in Newsweek, 1992) remarked that The solid secure two-parent family Quayle posited as an antidote to urban violence and moral decay is a symbol that cuts close to the bone. Dan Quayle seems to have nudged presidential politics perilously close to something that really matters. (p. 20)

Richard Rodriguez's article, "Individualism has been U.S. 'Family Value'" (as cited in the Arizona Daily Star, 1994) provides an insightful view of the public rhetoric on families in the United States.

We are going to hear more and more about "family values." Even President Clinton is flirting with the notion. . . . It has become a political mantra.

Today's irony is that those same Americans who most loudly profess family values are the ones who . . . refer to single parent families in the inner city, and suspicions of recent immigrants

from the south of the border and Asia. . . . A common complaint against Chinese immigrants is that they are too tribal, too family-oriented. And those Mexicans! When are they going to learn English and give up their family language?

All over the world, the siren call from America is the first person singular pronoun, the "I": Leave your parents behind, leave your home, and come to America and become someone new. (p. 19)

Almost a decade ago, Allan (1985) lamented that family life was changing, stating that "Certainly in comparison with previous eras, there is currently more variation and variability in people's family circumstances. In a sense, family life has become less predictable" (p. 2).

Anderson and Graham's (1984) book, Family Portraits, provides a descriptive sketch of families to illustrate that the family is the single greatest source of education, health, and welfare.

Today's societal trends have created the need to review the traditional portrayal of the family in order to examine and reconsider the meaning of the word family in spite of Miller's (1986) declaration that "all of us know about marriage and families. Parents, siblings, spouses, children--these are not remote academic subjects but

virtually everyone's first-hand experiences" (p. 11). Yet, as the population of the U.S. is seeking means for redeeming the traditional family, our first-hand experiences and knowledge of family living are apparently not adequate for resolving the problems related to the current challenging situations and changes facing many families in our nation. Even the definitions for family are changing, varied, and extensive.

In "Getting to the Heart of the American Family" (1992), Americans were asked for their definition of family. Twenty-two percent responded that a family is a group of people related by blood, marriage, or adoption. The definition preferred by 40% was much broader. The majority viewed the family as a group of people who loved and cared for one another. Other comments included "a family gives us a sense of belonging" (p. 4).

This article ("Getting to," 1992) concluded that there are no normal families, only different perspectives about them. Nonetheless, after attempting to redefine the family and focusing on "getting to the heart of the American family," where can today's families find solutions for the problems that are plaguing them on a daily basis?

It is important to note that family experts declare that hurting and broken families can be rebuilt and repaired. Linda and Richard Eyre, who directed the 1990

White House Conference for Children and Families and authored Three Steps to Strong Families (1995), warn, first, that America cannot ignore that families are disintegrating in many ways. It is harder for parents than it has ever been before. These writers suggest, secondly, that in order to address current family problems, parents need to resurrect old parenting skills and at the same time develop new ones to cope with changing times. This linkage of the old and new ways of parenting can enable today's families to review and identify factors that have strengthened or weakened their members' levels of stability and success in the past. Such actions can promote the enhancement of positive family traits and the elimination of the negative ones, thus contributing to the betterment of American schools and society.

Linking the past and present effectively may be one solution to the present-day predicament of U.S. families. Allan (1985) recalls that "Educationalists have asserted for years that a chief factor impacting family educational success is the family background" (p. 11). It is my premise that the family's background and experiences influence one's academic process, aspirations, and levels of achievement.

My 94-year-old mother, who only completed the sixth grade, has a poignant message for younger people--"You just

do better." Those four words have motivated me in the past and continue to impact my life today.

Tipper Gore (Mental Health Advisor to United States President Clinton) (1994) wrote an article entitled "We Have to Do Better," which discusses current family-related issues and recommends education as a vehicle for resolving some of these issues.

What better place to start than in school? Where everybody has to be for some part of their lives-- parents as well as children. . . . But we all have to step in early to help children grow healthily and be knowledgeable about where to get help when it is needed. All organizations of the community form the basis for a healthy society.

(p. 6).

Clark (1983) emphasizes that "a family's ability to equip its youth with survival skills . . . is determined by the parents, siblings, community relations, and other relationships outside the home" (p. 20). He further suggests that it is parental beliefs, activities, and overall cultural lifestyles that contribute to children's success or failure.

Traditionally, discussions presented in the literature regarding the mainstream American family embrace language laden with optimism, e.g., "All organizations of the

community form the basis for a healthy society" (Gore, 1994, p. 6), which will provide its members with "the opportunity to fulfill their desires and expectations in a just and humane society" (King, as cited in Bass et al., 1982, p. 116).

Such opportunities have traditionally been viewed as givens for mainstream Americans. The perception that most members of the dominant Anglo American cultural group will be granted the opportunity to achieve success and high status in society is not a new concept. Research reveals that this concept can be linked to the dominant groups' European heritage and practices.

Industrious self-sufficiency was probably the most valid characteristic of life in the earliest days of colonization and has continuously occupied a high status throughout its history. (Freedlander & Apte, as cited in Dempsey, 1981, p. 19)

A contrasting concept of minorities is that these groups have unequal access to power and are stigmatized in terms of assumed inferior traits or characteristics (Mindel & Haberstein, 1976). The perception is that discriminatory practices by the dominant group limit minorities' access to success in American society. The disparity between the perceptions of Anglos' and minorities' status in society has been prevalent since the former group migrated to what is

now New England and began a relationship with the indigenous inhabitants of that region, who were the majority group on this continent. The initial contact between Anglos and other groups has contributed to the past and current status of each ethnic group in America. It bears repeating that the historical experience of each group, both with respect to when and how the group arrived on these shores as well as the conditions under which the members of the group were forced to live, is a vitally important factor, particularly in the explanation of current family institutions (Allan, 1985; Dempsey, 1981; Eyre, 1994; Mindel & Habenstein, 1976; Queen & Habenstein, 1967; Smith, 1987).

Societal and family-related problems are rapidly increasing in our industrialized and technological society, but many of these problems are not new. Historically, certain segments of the U.S. population have been grappling with unemployment (particularly among minority men), working mothers, inadequate (or unobtainable) child care, and inferior education for many, many years.

Further discussion regarding this issue is included later in this chapter. Although this study primarily focuses on the cultural, social, and educational experiences of an African American family, it is deemed appropriate to include a review of the various cultural groups in our nation to present a perspective representative of our

multiethnic, multilingual, and multiculturally diverse society. The following sections of the study provide an overview of families from various cultures beginning with the colonial families and their arrival in the New World during the 17th century.

The Colonial Family

When the British colonists migrated to the New World during the 17th and 18th centuries, they were keenly aware that justice, humaneness, and family stability were crucial for living in a healthy society. Like their English ancestors and contemporaries, the colonists assumed that "all persons should be members of a family" (Queen & Haberstein, 1967, p. 299). Although life in their new environment was challenging, the colonists were optimistic that the next generation would be able to do better and live a more prosperous life. It is emphasized in Families From Different Cultures (Queen & Haberstein, 1967), that children were important for growth and prosperity during the colonial era. Children contributed to the well-being of the family by working in the home and fields. The younger generation had to contribute at an early age to the common welfare of the family.

Dempsey (1981) provides a brief perspective of the colonial family, describing its resemblance to the traditional mainstream American family.

In the early colonial societies . . . the family was the omnibus institution of those times.

Families were of necessity largely responsible for their housing, food, recreation and entertainment, education, and moral upbringing of their children, income producing products, defense and the care of sibling members. It was simple and rewarding in ways contemporary people have come to envy and glory. (p. 1)

On the whole, families performed a wide range of functions for their members. Its functions were much more inclusive, and there were fewer agencies to threaten the family's hold over its members. In general, according to Queen and Haberstein (1967), the family was a much more important institution in colonial times.

To compare and determine the degree of the importance of the institution of the family in the past and present can be viewed as a matter of emphasis. During colonial times, family members were more interdependent, i.e., children's assistance was needed for the basic economic support and survival of the family. Today's emphasis on individualism and freedom allows choice for children to determine whether or not they will participate in the family's activities. The family continues to be an important institution in

society, but for various reasons, the emphasis has shifted.

Allan (1985) theorizes in his book, Family Life, that

The most dominant viewpoint is that with industrialization the family has gradually become less important. . . . Whereas once it occupied a position centre stage involved in most of what was going on, the family is found somewhere near the wings, not altogether unimportant but away from much of the action. . . . The essential argument is that with technological change and increased specialization, various activities once associated almost exclusively with the family, including economic, health, welfare and educational ones, have been taken over by institutions. (p. 6)

The importance of the cohesiveness of the colonial family and its household--for economic reasons--is further emphasized by Queen and Haberstein (1967), who suggest,

Moreover, in the colonies, as in England, the basic domestic unit was the household. . . . also in the colonies as in England, the household had very inclusive functions--educational, religious, protective, regulatory, procreational--but with heavy emphasis on the economic. (p. 288)

Smith (1987) seeks to make clear that the majority of the colonial immigrants were not poor and poverty-stricken

as is widely discussed in the literature (Glazer, 1975; Liberson, 1980; Sowell, 1975). Instead, says Smith (as cited in Smith, 1987), "The colonists were largely middle-class, primarily an emerging class of manufacturers who were moderately prosperous and not the hopeless indigent" (p. 19).

The literature provides varying perspectives of the colonists' economic predicament when they migrated to the New World. Sherman (1961) shares his admiration and respect for the pioneers.

The settlers from England . . . had to build a new life, and alone they had to produce the raw materials needed for the venture. England from which they had departed was a highly developed country; America was an economic desert and . . . with all the backing of powerful trading companies and all the support of their own government, the settlers in the main had to rely on their own resources. . . . They had to create their own reality alone--only men of unparalleled intrepidity, unlimited confidence, adventurous spirit, and readiness to make enormous sacrifices could have undertaken to hew out new paths in the West under the conditions prevailing in the early and mid nineteenth century. The conquest of

America required great determination and initiative . . . and no one stood in their way.
(pp. 5-6)

Smith's (1987) contrasting view of the colonists is that although they were determined and worked diligently in their efforts to survive and succeed, it is unlikely that such goals would have been reached without the system of protection provided through the linkage between England and its emerging colonies. These governmental linkages can be viewed as the beginning of the bootstrap rhetoric that is so prevalent in America's social and political speech. These arenas advocate that all individuals who are willing to work hard can pull themselves up to a higher economic level by their own bootstraps. This implies that one does not need assistance of any kind to make that transition. Smith declares that only a few individuals have been able to succeed by simply working hard and delaying immediate needs and desires, i.e., delayed gratification. In response to the premise that in order to get ahead, it requires the "ability to discipline oneself to sacrifice for future satisfaction" (Banfield, as cited in Smith, 1987, p. 10), he argues that only a few individuals have been able to succeed based solely on that philosophy and hard work.

The Politics of Racial Inequality (Smith, 1987)
provides an analogy of the bootstrap theory as it relates to

various cultural groups and their opportunities for success in the United States.

The basis for this theory is a pair of boots representing human capital in the form of education, job training and knowledge of how the economic and political systems work. In terms of a group's economic success, bootstraps serve as a system of protection that locks groups into the economic system and provides them with a sense of security. Groups who are not granted such security . . . will develop the culture of poverty, which has the propensity for self perpetuation. (pp. 8-9)

The difference in the initial and sometimes, later, levels of poverty experienced by some groups in America can be attributed to the inducements that the government provides some groups--and not others--in the form of a set of bootstraps, such as free land, collective bargaining, fringe benefits, and subsidized mortgages (Smith, 1987).

The research finding for this study has indicated that it was their linkages and the issuance of British and American assistance that endowed the colonists in their efforts to acquire and retain a middle-class or higher status, the valued status that has existed for mainstream Americans since the colonial era. Further research shows

that the linkages and incentives provided by the government and business when the colonists migrated to this nation created a tradition that had a determinative impact on prescribing the classes of people populating America (Smith, 1987). Scheslinger (1992) declares that for better or for worse, U.S. history has been shaped more than anything else by British tradition and culture. According to A People's History of the United States (Zinn, 1990), which examines U.S. history from Columbus to the present era,

 Around 1776, certain important people in the English colonies made a discovery that would prove enormously useful for the next two hundred years. They found that by creating a nation, a symbol of legal unity called the United States, they could take over lands, profits, and political power.

 . . . When we look at the American Revolution this way, the Founding Fathers deserve the awed tribute they have received for centuries. They created the most effective system of national control devised in modern times and showed future generations of leaders the advantage of combining paternalism and command. (p. 59)

 Smith (1947), whose work has been proclaimed by David Galenson (1981) to be the most comprehensive on the colonial indentureship system, describes the level of optimism held

by even the indentured servants who were from the lower class and held in low esteem by others, including the literature of that period. He first provides a description of this group, which consisted of servants who were unable or unwilling to pay their passage cost from England to America.

Concerning the servants themselves, as individuals in the New World, we do not read much. Colonial society was not democratic and certainly not egalitarian; it was dominated by men who had enough money to make others work for them. In studying the servants we drop below the level of distinguished individuals to the undifferential body of the people. . . . It would be presumptuous to say that even those contributed nothing; . . . many had to emigrate in order that a portion might survive. This was the cruel system by which the colonies were peopled.

In spite of the indentured servants' low status and their inability to bring their families with them from England, America offered them a chance to attain their independence. According to Smith (1947),

Even men of less than average capacity, providing that he had good health, would find in the

colonies the best opportunities of expanding his abilities to his own advantage. (pp. 7-8)

These quotes illustrate that survival and success were primary motivating factors for the adventurous and ambitious New England settlers. It is also obvious that their ambitions and desire to succeed invoked a desire to "take over land, become paternalistic and commanding, and cruel" (Dempsey, 1981, p. 19). Industrious self-sufficiency was probably the most valued characteristic of life in the earliest days of American colonization, and it has continuously occupied high status throughout our history.

The characterization of colonial self-sufficiency is prevalent in the literature related to the study of the colonists and family living (Dempsey, 1981; Queen & Haberstein, 1967; Smith, 1947). The characteristic of self-sufficiency is defined as being able to supply one's own needs without assistance (Flexner & Hauck, 1987). Colonial families were resilient, industrious, and optimistic. They had access to assistance from England, their native country, and the New World. Other valuable assets upon their arrival to the New World were the friendly initial contacts, hospitality, and assistance extended to them by the indigenous inhabitants (Deloria & Lyte, 1983; Zinn, 1990). Sherman (1961) surmises that for the settlers, conquest of the continent required great determination and initiative,

and no one stood in their way. Evidently, the American Indians were viewed by their mere presence as "standing in the way" or obscuring the colonists' view of their goals to conquer the New World.

American Indians seemed an enigma to most Americans. The images portrayed in the movies . . . recall the stereotypes of Western history. . . . Indians are a unique branch of the human family possessing a wide variety of cultural expressions, origins, and traditions. Literature on Indians provides no clues to understanding the present or remembering the past. (Deloria & Lyte, 1983, p. ix)

The Native American Experience

Upon their arrival to the New World, the colonists were greeted by the Indian people in a friendly manner. This initial contact experience was pertinent to the newcomers' ability to survive in the New World. Given that the colonists were the minority group, the Indians were in a position to take full advantage of their majority status. They held the key to the success or failure of the minority group in their new environment. The majority group could have readily destroyed the European invaders had they been inclined to do so.

In The American Indian: Past and Present (Nichols & Adams, 1971), it is confirmed that for generations the Indians outnumbered the European invaders and their American descendants within the present United States. Even though the British and other colonies came to the New World to explore and exploit its resources and riches, their initial contact with the natives was friendly. It is likely that the friendliness and hospitality extended by the Native Americans was viewed by those of a different culture to be a weakness which later perpetuated their desire to behave so brutally and inhumanely toward their hosts. It is important to note that Indians are usually portrayed in colonial history as being a part of the wilderness,

the natural world that frightened the Englishmen.

. . . The image of Indians lurking in the forests and roaming after game endured in popular imagination. . . . Historians downplayed the number and diversity of native peoples. . . . Their misleading treatment of Indians in early American history is finally being replaced by a new scholarship, striving to improve our knowledge of the more complex ways that Indians related to colonial society. (Usner, 1972, pp. 77-78)

The Native American Almanac (Champagne, 1994) describes the frustration experienced by the leader of the Powhatan

Confederacy, evidencing that his people were kind and complacent with their lifestyle and culture.

At first Powhatan aids the colonists, but after a few years he becomes disillusioned with the English. He asks, "Why will you destroy us who supply you with food? What can you get by war?" He cannot understand the English animosity toward the Indians nor can he truly understand the full extent of the Europeans' desire for material gain.
(p. 20)

Most American history has been written as if it were the function of the white culture in spite of the fact that well into the 19th century the Indians were one of the principal determinants of historical events. American historians have made shockingly little effort to understand the life, the societies, the cultures, the thinking and feelings of the indigenous population (dee Voto, as cited in Howard, 1952). Zinn (1990) explains that the North American English colonists were primarily interested in acquiring land without consideration for the detrimental effects their actions had on the indigenous people. He states that Columbus and his successors did not come into an empty wilderness but into a world that in some places was as densely populated as Europe. The cultures were complex; the relationships were more egalitarian than in Europe; and the

relations among men, women, children, and nature were more beautifully worked out than perhaps any place in the world. The indigenous population was intraculturally diverse. There were 15-20 million indigenous people in the Americas, perhaps 5-10 million in North America when Columbus came (Zinn, 1990). Spread over the great land mass of the Americas, they had hundreds of different tribal cultures and perhaps 2,000 different languages (Zinn, 1990). Kromkowski (1993) affirms that "Native American people are so different from one another that referring to them as a monolithical 'Indian community' makes little sense" (p. 69).

Champagne (1994) provides a vivid description of the peoples' lifestyles and enriched cultures that is not so prevalent in the literature. Most lived on lands among those who spoke the same language and shared a common culture. Members of the Native American cultures also valued the philosophy that the group and the individual were accorded equal importance, with the overriding theme that the purpose of the individual's life was for the good of the group. Each person was accorded importance, and no individual was considered superior to another, i.e., the women were important because they were women, and children were important because they were children (Arcienciega, Casaus, & Castillo, 1978). The importance of females and children in the Iroquois families is highlighted in Zinn's

(1980) exploration of the European invasion of the indigenous settlements in the Americas. He discusses the role of each member of the family during that period, stating that families were matrilineal, that is, the family line went down through the female members. Husbands joined their wives' families, and the sons who married then joined their wives' families. Families were grouped in clans, and a dozen or more clans might make up a village. The women attended the clan meetings, stood behind the circle of men who spoke and voted, and removed the men from office if they strayed too far from the wishes of the women. When a woman wanted a divorce, she simply set her husband's things outside the home.

Iroquois women tended the crops and took general charge of village affairs while the men always hunted and fished. Children, while taught the cultural heritage of their people, were also taught to be independent and not to submit to overbearing authority. They were also taught equality in status and the sharing of possessions (Zinn, 1990).

Nash (as cited in Zinn, 1990) determined in his comparison of the Iroquois and European families that the power was shared between the sexes, and the European idea of male dominance and female subordination in all things was conspicuously absent in Iroquois society. Though priding themselves on the autonomous individual, the Iroquois

maintained a strict sense of right and wrong. Not only the Iroquois but other indigenous groups shared this characteristic.

In the days before Columbus arrived, Native Americans were developing rich and diverse cultures and engaging in agricultural development, cultivating uniquely American crops such as squash, pumpkins, tobacco, and others. They were living in tepees, quonets, longhouses, A-frames, pueblos (multi-storied dwellings) or other types of dwellings. During this time Native Americans were also gaining considerable knowledge about medicine and astronomy and developing a wide variety of music, art, literature, and writing.

(Nash, as cited in Zinn, 1990, pp. 17-19)

The theme of these aforementioned research findings is that Native Americans have a history enriched by the diversity among its people, their languages, and cultures. As evidenced in the literature, what is now the United States was not a garden of paradise before or after the Europeans came (Cornell, 1988; Deloria & Lyte, 1983). The indigenous people fought, enslaved, and exploited one another, yet most of their societies were centered around strong family institutions.

Educationally and artistically, American society has benefitted greatly from the Indian culture. In his book This Country is Ours, Vogel (1972) acknowledges what American has gained from this group.

Educationally their marks are deeply embedded in our arts, literature, music, language, folklore, and political history. Particularly, their greatest endowment, however, has been learned least of all: their notion of liberty. (p. 27)

The Native Americans' appreciation for the notion of liberty can be viewed as the basic difference between their people and the European invaders of their land. Most Americans are generally aware of the historical exploitation of the American Indians. Many theorists (Champagne, 1994; Vogel, 1972; Zinn, 1990) utilize the concept of colonialism to discuss issues regarding the United States political control and domination over American Indians' lives and resources.

Fanon (as cited in Bass et al., 1982) also expresses concern about the impact of domination on the family as he questions the social context of colonialism and its impact on the people it dominates. He provides a brief but realistic rationale for his concern.

Because it is a systematic negation [of the family] and a furious determination to deny [the family] all attributes of humanity, colonialism

forces the people it dominates to ask themselves
constantly, "In reality, who am I?" (p. 20)

The premise for questioning self-identity may have been most prevalent among Native American children when they were so inhumanely separated from their families and sent to boarding schools, primarily to be educated about the white man's way of life. Cruelty was an integral part of this educational process. According to McBeth (1983) and Adams (1975), agents with quotas to fill descended upon families and seized as many children as the quotas required.

Parental protests were ignored, and children's rejections were suppressed. Corporal punishment was inflicted on children for speaking their own language. Former students recall that they were scorned and held in contempt by their teachers who always overtly made racial distinctions between themselves and the students. Yet the goal of the schools was to ensure that Indian children renounced their heritage and culture. The Indians did not deny their heritage in spite of the dominant culture's decisions and efforts to brainwash their children, annihilate their families, break promises and treaties, and take their land and resources. None of these efforts, though sometimes effective, could destroy the Indians, their culture, or their progress. They have persisted. Evidence of their persistence was revealed and publicized throughout the world when in 1973 several

hundred Sioux and friends returned and occupied the village of Wounded Knee, where on December 28, 1890, the U.S. Seventh Cavalry had killed or wounded hundreds of Sioux men, women, and children. This return was in protest of the 1890 massacre and the continuing control over Indians themselves. The occupancy was a symbol of the demand for Indian land and Indian rights. This act was a powerful affirmation that Indians of North America were still alive (Cornell, 1988; Deloria & Lyte, 1991; Zinn, 1990).

Fost (as cited in Kromkowski, 1993) wrote a brief but candid article, "American Indians in the 1990s," describing the current status of the American Indian.

The strong bonds American Indians still feel to their native culture are driving a renaissance in Indian communities. This cultural resurrection has not yet erased the poverty, alcoholism and other ills that affect many Indians. But it has brought education and economic gains to many Indians living on and off reservations. A college-educated Indian middle class has emerged, American Indian business ownership has increased, and some tribes are creating good jobs for their members. (p. 63)

Approximately five years before the occupation of Wounded Knee, a similar, well-publicized dramatic event had

focused world attention on Indian grievances as nothing else had. In November 1969, a Mohawk, the Director of Indian Studies at San Francisco State College, and Grace Thorpe, a Sac and Fox Indian and the daughter of the famous Indian athlete, Jim Thorpe, occupied Alcatraz (an abandoned prison nicknamed "The Rock") with 600 others representing more than 50 tribes to proclaim "freedom, justice, and equality and [to] preserve our traditions and way of life by educating [their] own children" (Zinn, 1990, p. 518).

One school's approach to preserving the Native American tradition and way of life and, at the same time, providing a healthier cultural and educational environment for Navajo children is described in McCarty's (1989) study of Rough Rock Demonstration School located in northeastern Arizona. The school was founded in 1966 with an all-Indian school board. The study discusses the positive impact of community involvement on the educational process and the students and the negative results when that involvement diminishes. It is important to note, first, that now (1995) Rough Rock's teachers are primarily Native Americans who were residents of the immediate community. Having teachers from their own culture is not a mandate for an excellent educational environment, but it can be, in my opinion, reassuring for students. Secondly, the curriculum incorporated a pedagogical approach that exposed students to values and

customs of both the Navajo culture and the dominant society, thus removing the pressure to choose between learning only the white man's way to become successful or remaining an Indian and becoming a failure (Roessel, as cited in McCarty, 1989). This realistic, practical, and innovative approach to learning contradicted the Bureau of Indian Affairs' traditional educational philosophy which attempted to make Native American students ashamed of their heritage and identity, thus contributing to the historical American adage that views Native Americans as the vanishing Americans (Vogel, 1972).

The current increase in the number of college-educated Native Americans can be attributed to innovative educational programs such as the Rough Rock Demonstration School in Arizona. According to McCarty (1989), not only children but the entire community benefitted from the internationally renowned Rough Rock project. She reports that "many parents . . . graduated from high school or through tribal- and school-sponsored programs completed degrees" (p. 107).

Increased economic and political involvement by Native Americans support the view that there is a current "cultural resurrection" taking place in Indian communities (Fost, as cited in Kromkowski, 1993, p. 63). In 13 states, there are at least 32 Native American legislators with membership in a sovereign nation while serving as an elected state official.

In spite of the educational, economic, and political progress being made by Native Americans, deep-seated prejudices against them still exist in the United States. For example, at the national level, Representative Ben Nightmare Campbell of Colorado is the only Native American member of Congress at this time. Oklahoma State Senator Haley has worked effectively on behalf of Oklahoma Indians by sponsoring legislation that led to the creation of both the Indian Affairs Committee and the Indian Affairs Commission. Haley (as cited in Kromkowski, 1993) points out that Native Americans want the same things other people want: "decent schools, adequate health care, good roads, and comfortable houses" (p. 68). Added to these needs and desires is a declaration by another Native American that

The most important unit in the Native American culture has always been the family. In these times of rapid change and social fragmentation, special attention and concerted effort are needed to restore the strength of the family and to develop in young people a strong sense of commitment to family values. We are confident that our traditional values--key concepts that once held our tribes and communities together--will combine with the best efforts of the education reform movement to offer to our young

people what they deserve: the best of two worlds.

(Hall, as cited in Kromkowski, 1993, p. 72)

The two worlds to which Hall refers--the dominant and minority cultures--and the foregoing discussion regarding each groups' familial, cultural, social, and educational experiences can be viewed as being symbolic of similar worlds experienced by minority groups as they have strived to adapt in the New World--the United States of America.

The Mexican American Experience

As the only minority, apart from the Indians, ever acquired by conquest in America, the Mexican-Americans have been subjected to economic, social, and political discrimination, as well as a great deal of violence at the hands of their Anglo conquerors. (Miller, as cited in Moquin & VanDorn, 1971, p. 181).

There has been a great deal of variation in the immigrant family's migration patterns. The unique experience of the Mexican American is that unlike other groups whose members migrated to America by crossing oceans, this group's current minority status was initially "created through [imperial] conquest and annexation rather than immigration" (Hutter, 1988, p. 131). Mexican Americans did not become a part of the United States through (forced or voluntary) migration patterns. Most groups chose to come to

this country; their entry was not imposed upon them as it was for the Mexicans living on their own land. The Mexicans have a long history of residence within the present United States, but Mexican immigration to this country is relatively recent.

Mexican citizens began voluntarily migrating to the United States in significant numbers during the early 1900s as a result of economic conditions in Mexico as well as the violence and political upheaval of the Mexican Revolution. Anthropologist Romano (1971) provides a vivid description of that movement and the people who migrated from Mexico to the United States.

During and following the Mexican Revolution of 1910, it is estimated that one of every 10 people left the country. Some went to [other countries], but most went north to the United States. Among those who went north were printers, poets, civil servants, merchants, farmers, school teachers, campesinos, musicians, bartenders, blacksmiths, jewelers, carpenters, cowboys, mestizos, village Indians, religious people, atheists, infants, others, masons, counter-revolutionaries, and philosophers.

In the north they worked on the railroad, in the clearing of mesquite, in fish canneries,

tomato fields, irrigation, and all other such work that became so drearily familiar to the people living in the colonies.

Just as could be expected . . . people of Mexican descent have adjusted to life in many different ways. . . . A number of people have eschewed virtually all identity with their cultural past, no longer speak Spanish, and possibly they have changed their name and Anglicized it. In various communities . . . people have sustained the basic Mexican way of life (pp. 85-87).

Today, Mexican Americans are nurtured by Mexican culture through their linkage with Mexico. Some never really left their homeland but have continuously lived intermittently in both the United States and Mexico. This is made conveniently possible by the proximity of the countries.² Like the Native Americans, Mexican Americans were conquered on their own territory and, to a degree, became foreigners on their own land. McWilliams (as cited in Weber, 1973) proclaims that "Mexicans moving north from Mexico have always felt that they were moving in an environment that was geographically, culturally and

²Mexican Americans are the only group presented in this literature review who come from a country adjacent to the United States.

historically familiar" (p. 4). From a historical perspective, it is important to review, however briefly, the history of the Mexico-United States' linkage for a better understanding of why Mexican Americans have this viewpoint regarding ownership of certain areas in this nation.

When Mexico won its independence from Spain in 1821, its land acquisition included Texas and what are now known as Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, and Utah (Weber, 1973; Zinn, 1990). This independence began a period of Mexican sovereignty over the present Southwest that would last until Mexico and the United States went to war in 1846. It was during this period that Americans "unwittingly prepared for the eventual United States conquest" (Weber, 1973, p. 52). This era can be viewed as a transitional period in Mexican American history. Research indicates that Mexicans allowed Americans to live and trade among them, hoping that these interactions would bring more prosperity to their region. The Mexicans admired and emulated the United States, viewing it as a nation having successfully gained independence from England and remaining independent. History affirms that not all Mexicans trusted the Americans; some feared that their presence and trade practices were not for the overall good of Mexico and its people (Romano, 1971; Weber, 1973; Zinn, 1990). In some instances, Americans were disrespectful toward Mexicans and,

through their behavior, showed signs of feeling superior to their hosts and neighbors. Mexicans were often compared with other minority groups which the Americans also disrespected. Weber's findings provide examples of these negative views and comparisons.

Evident to the Mexicans was the Americans' attitude toward people of color--Indians and Negroes. . . . United States newspapers circulated in Mexico reported episodes which made it clear that Americans viewed Mexicans as "primitive" inhabitants no better than American Indians and that Mexico deserved to be conquered because it was less industrious and efficient than the United States. (pp. 60-61)

By 1846 the Mexican population was convinced that Americans were determined to overrule them in their own country. Their increased contact had not lessened American's stereotypical attitudes about their Mexican neighbors. The conflict between the two nations resulted in Mexico losing almost half of its national territory. Americans had not been secretive about their desire to expand westward (Rossi & Pollard, 1992). According to historical reports, the United States declared war on Mexico on May 11, 1846 (Rossi & Pollard, 1992; Weber, 1973; Zinn, 1990), and Mexico was accused of firing the first shot.

Rossi and Pollard's report lists several reasons for the war between Mexico and the United States:

The Mexican embitterment over the succession of Texas in 1836 and their desire to regain that territory; the annexation of Texas by the United States in 1845; Mexico's default of payment of claims of the United States' citizens; and [most significantly]--among other reasons--the Manifest Destiny sentiment of the United States. The spirit of the Manifest Destiny was based on the belief that the United States had created a new and perfect economic, political, and social system and that its destiny as a nation was to spread the benefits of this system to other societies and peoples. This belief supported continental expansionist policies during the early part of the 19th century . . . that justified and fostered aggressive United States policies. (p. 13)

Although Mexico fired the first shot, the United States has been accused of being primarily responsible for beginning the war, and the latter's history of greed and the desire to expand support such views (Zinn, 1990). The Mexican War ended with the ratification of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in 1848, granting the United States a third of

Mexico and, thus, making Mexicans, according to the title of Weber's (1973) book, Foreigners in Their Native Land.

The ways in which their history and reversed status from majority to minority have impacted Mexican Americans since their conquest can be seen in many aspects of their lives today. This is especially relevant in the areas of immigration and family living. Immigration and the migration patterns of Mexican Americans have fluctuated as they have crossed the borders between Mexico and the United States. These patterns have impacted this group and its families (on both sides of the border) economically and educationally.

Historically, the Mexican immigration movement to the United States was relatively slow until social, economic, and political factors in both countries began to increase the number of migrating Mexicans in the early 1900s. During that era, Mexican politics were in turmoil, and the level of poverty was very high. The Mexican War left many Mexicans feeling defeated and demoralized. This climate promoted their movement to the United States. The Mexican government did not discourage the movement because the migrants provided a partial relief from population pressures by sharing their earnings in the United States with family members who remained behind (Rossi & Pollard, 1992). The growing Mexican population promoted the immigration movement

from Mexico to the United States. The migrants were exploited by the American labor contractors and employers. According to Hutter (1988),

Mexican Americans became a subjugated, exploitable minority group. What land they owned was obtained legally and illegally. Anglo-dominated agriculture production became large scale and labor intensive. Mexican Americans were relegated to serve as cheap labor and to compete economically with job-starved Mexican nationals who were willing to work for even lower wages. The immigration policy allowed for the crossing back and forth over the border . . . and this further undermined the economic position of the Mexican Americans. (p. 131)

The migration trend changed in the 1930s during the Depression years when the high unemployment rate sent many Mexicans (voluntarily and involuntarily) back to Mexico. The same laws that permitted them to enter this country to work in the harvest, mines, and on the railroad during the 1920s were reversed and forced them to return to Mexico (Hutter, 1988). The reversal of immigration laws to fulfill the economic and labor needs of the United States has continued until the present.

The 1986 Reform and Control Act was passed to regulate the number of illegal immigrants entering the U.S. and permitting those who had been here since 1982 to participate in an amnesty program granting them a status of legality (Hutter, 1988). Such legislation can contribute to separation within and among families according to their members' legal or illegal status in this nation. This view is confirmed in the article, "Immigrants Face New Amnesty Fear: Split Families."

For a culture that treasures the . . . family, the options in such cases are painful; breaking up the family or trying to survive together while one or more of them remains in the shadow of the illegal alien. The new law itself makes no special provisions for keeping together families who apply for amnesty. . . . This can produce hardships for Mexican families. (Razo, as cited in Hutter, 1988, p. 134)

Many of the current hardships and challenges faced by the Mexican American family can be attributed to its ancestors' initial contact experience which, though friendly, later led to a hostile relationship with the United States. Eventually, this relationship with the United States cost Mexicans their majority status when they became minorities through direct conquest in their native

land. The war between Mexico and the United States (1846-1848) officially ended with the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo guaranteeing Mexicans living in the Southwest all the rights of citizens of the United States (de la Garza, 1985; Samaro, 1993; Weber, 1973). Weber declared that although the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo promised that Mexicans would receive equality, the promise was not fulfilled due to overt racial and ethnic prejudices, lack of political power, and economic competition between Anglo Americans and Mexican Americans.

Romano (1971) makes it clear that to make it in the United States, Mexican Americans have had to adapt in many different ways. Some have sustained the basic Mexican way of life, including the music, food, and lifestyles related to Mexico. Others have eschewed all identity of their cultural past, no longer speak Spanish, and may have changed and Anglicized their names. A third group is described as having adopted the ways of the American society only to discover that they are still excluded from the main events for one reason or another. Later, this group returned to identifying themselves with their own people, "after living under the process of 'assimilation'" (p. 87). Romano places the fourth and last group in the bicultural category, stating that despite the merciless educational pressures to stamp out biculturalism and bilingualism among Mexican

Americans in schools and colleges, it still exists in many varied and developing forms.

Biculturalism exists among entrepreneurs who operate on both sides of the international border, among Mexicans who are interpreters, and there are many who deal with a bicultural universe, such as owners of Mexican restaurants, bookstores, giftshops, musicians. (p. 87)

In reference to college students and professional Mexican Americans, Romano's (1971) description of these groups is also relevant in the 1990s.

Significantly, more and more Mexican Americans are going to college. Some of these students gravitate toward Spanish and Latin-American majors. . . . Such students eschew not their cultural past, but rather reintegrate into it at the professional and intellectual level and they are on their way to biculturalism at another dimension. . . . Mexican Americans in colleges and universities are certain to enhance and accelerate this process, especially if they adhere to the bilingual base. . . . It will become possible to avoid assimilative fallacies and pitfalls of the past and join in the truly and exciting universe of biculturalism. (pp. 88-89)

Abalos' (1993) view of the Latino family is that "people have to start where they are. As a community, Latinos cannot wait until they are college graduates or rich and powerful in order to transform their lives" (p. ix). His research in The Latino Family and the Politics of Transformation, like Romano's (1971) study, reveals that

Some families encouraged bilingualism and biculturalism; others urged that their children forget Spanish and accommodate themselves to this country. Some Latino parents refused to be bicultural or to assimilate; they stubbornly held their distance from this society . . . and demanded that their children do the same. In other families individual members spoke Spanish, some refused to; others identified with Mexicans, Latinos, while a few passed as Anglos. Many . . . married European-Americans and so the language of the culture was further threatened. (Abalos, 1993, p. 78)

Historically, many factors have threatened the language and culture of the Hispanic community, e.g., immigration laws and practices; English-only movements; and discrimination in educational institutions, particularly when focused on the Spanish language and bilingual education. Recent political movements such as California's

1986 Constitutional amendment declaring English to be the official language of that state (Ruiz, as cited in Adams & Brink, 1990) and, later, the passage of California's Proposition 187 denying illegal aliens access to social service benefits and education for their families have continued to threaten Mexican American families' well-being. Many view Proposition 187 to be morally wrong and economically unsound and are challenging the appropriateness of its passage (Impoco, as cited in U.S. News, 1994). More recently, Representative Pete King (as cited in The Arizona Daily Star, 1994), a New York Republican, introduced a bill that would make English the official national language of the United States and end all programs that promote bilingualism. King stated that "efforts to promote bilingualism create divisions in American society and exclude non-English speakers from pursuing the American dream. . . . Bilingual education is perhaps the most damaging of this politically correct government infatuation with language multiculturalism" (p. A2).

In direct contrast to the argument against bilingualism, most Mexican Americans see the need for bilingual education as the most pressing issue in Mexican American education. More than two decades ago, Ortega (as cited in Romano, 1971) declared that "without a doubt the single most significant manifestation of the educational

problems of Mexican Americans focuses in large part on language" (p. 122). Ortega further stated, "To Mexican Americans it seems almost incongruous that the American dream is so firmly rooted in education--a process which has rejected them so traumatically that they have come to feel like strangers in their own land" (p. 131). Research (e.g., Fishman, 1972; Fuente, as cited in Kromkowski, 1993; Hutter, 1988; Romano, 1971; Ruiz, as cited in Adams & Brink, 1990) supports the premise that traditionally political and educational practices tend to discriminate against the Mexican American population in our nation. Therefore, it is suggested that in order to promote the preservation of minority cultures, linguistic diversity, and multiculturalism, it is necessary to protect the rights of minority groups. This cannot be achieved without the existence of policies and programs guaranteeing such protection against discriminatory practices and other inequities. A variety of brief responses to and solutions for such practices and inequities are provided in this literature review. In Language and Nationalism, Fishman (1972) focuses on the value of who speaks what to whom and the importance of who is heard and listened to. Fuente (as cited in Kromkowski, 1993) examines the value of multilingualism in a multicultural society. Ruiz (as cited in Adams & Brink, 1990) discussed language planning by

explaining that "while language planning is at least about planning language, it is rarely only about language" (p. 14). He views language planning as a tool for enhancing "our understanding of the role of language in nation building" (p. 13). Hutter (1988) provides the view that historically the ultimate success of an immigrant group depends "on its ability to re-establish a normal pattern of family life in America" (p. 109). "Education was seen as the key institution to eradicate immigrant cultures and achieve Americanism" (p. 14), and the immigrant family was seen as a handicap in this transition process. America's view was that if individualism could enhance the assimilation process, "family ceased to be necessary at all" (Hutter, 1988, p. 117).

Overall, the latter concept (Hutter, 1988) has not become the norm for the Mexican American family. The familia is the center of Mexican American culture and is seen as the single most important social unit (Queen et al., as cited in Hutter, 1988). The traditional extended Mexican American family consists of parents and their children in addition to grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins. This interconnectedness strengthens the family and enhances its heritage and traditional cultural values. Such strength is prevalent within families living in culturally diverse communities. Dorita Sewell's (1989) anthropological study

involved Mexican Americans located in Lakeland, California, a town with a population of approximately 20,000, 4,000 of whom self-identified as Mexican American. The study focuses on Mexican American families and their lifestyles. Sewell agrees with de la Garza (1985), Hutter (1988), Romano (1971), and Weber (1973) that Mexican Americans are an intraculturally diverse ethnic group.

There were huge cultural differences among the Mexican American people who saw themselves and each other as Mexican Americans, as Californians and long-time United States residents, and as middlingly successful in their way of life. . . . The people differed among themselves in their origins and their ties to Mexico, as well as in culture. Most of them were native born Americans. About two-thirds were born and reared in California. Another 15 percent were born in the Southwest. Only 15 percent were born in Mexico. There were surely more people of Mexican descent . . . than allowed themselves to be counted in the Census, because some people were present illegally.

Some illegal residents were long-term local residents; others were married to members of the old Mexican-American community. Migrants, legal

and illegal, were part of life in my neighborhood of mostly old residents and United States citizens of Mexican descent. Some families had been in California for generations, including the family that traced itself to before the treaty that ceded California to the United States and identified its members of the Anglo or white ethnic group. Some had come from Mexico recently and still were in touch with relatives there. (pp. 35-36)

Sewell (1989) describes Lakeland to be a family town with family support organizations. One such organization's primary purpose was to accommodate Mexican American families as needed--to address problems related to immigration, economics, and education. The program was called the Concillo and consisted of local Mexican American businessmen and students from the nearby state university. Lakeland also had other Mexican American volunteer programs and self-help benefit societies for families in the community. Research (Cortez & Horowitz, as cited in Hutter, 1988) shows that similar organizations exist within the Mexican American culture. They are designed to generate social and interpersonal cohesion in the event of trouble or difficulty. According to Horowitz (as cited in Hutter, 1988), these support groups not only maintain cultural continuity, but such mutual obligations further strengthen

the entire expanded family unit both as a symbol of their cohesiveness and because they need each other. Horowitz has observed that "the understanding of the Mexican American family structure and dynamics must be viewed in the context of community involvement. The economic hardships often faced by Mexican Americans . . . play a crucial role in the . . . adaptation and survival of the family" (p. 138).

Sewell (1989) provides an anthropological perspective of the Mexican American family, children's role in the family, and their views regarding education.

Marriage, family and kinship are important parts of people's lives. What constitutes ideal relations within the family was understood by all and followed a formula closely akin to Mexican American Catholic tradition.

The father is head of the family, has authority over everyone, and provides for the family materially. He is deemed to extend a degree of respect to his wife and be treated to a greater degree of respect by her and still more by his children. Precedence in decisions belong to the father of the family. He is to be responsible for the management and care of the household and children, with the mother in charge of discipline. . . . Children are to be respectful to both

parents, though it is "natural" for them to be closer to the mother . . . and for her to intervene for them with the father to keep him from punishing them too severely. Men and women argued about their respective rights and duties, each using the ideal for his or her own purposes. Respectful behavior and family obligations were the strongest areas of the Mexican Americans' moral system. (pp. 136-137)

Education, according to Sewell's (1989) study, was not highly valued by familial members in the Mexican American community. Her findings showed that the participants saw themselves as middle people, and they associated college with high people. They wanted to raise their status and make more money but did not see education as a likely means. Formal higher education and the style of life that went with it seemed stuck-up and alien. They expected a lot of disappointment to follow the pursuit of higher education.

In contrast to Sewell's (1989) findings regarding Mexican American families and their attitudes about education, other research places emphasis on factors that contribute to such attitudes. Discriminatory practices and other inequities faced by Mexican Americans in our nation's schools and society can be considered as some of the primary reasons for this group's disdainful outlook regarding higher

education. According to Sotomayer (1991), "minority groups are especially vulnerable to social, cultural, and political influences" (p. 1). While children of color may have strong family and community ties, the impact of social and political influences can override such ties, beginning at the earliest level of their educational experiences. Romano (1971) agrees that Hispanic children experience educational problems at an early age. Approximately two and one-half decades ago, his research findings indicated that the problems of Mexican Americans related specifically to American life and not to Mexican life. He contends that the educational statistics on Mexican Americans are shocking. It was further determined by Ortega (as cited in Romano, 1971) that several factors contributed to the dismal educational status of Mexican American students. He stated that, first,

This situation can be viewed as shamefully tragic especially for people whose ancestral roots on this continent--both Indo and Hispanic--go back to more than a century before the establishment of Jamestown. The odyssey of Mexican Americans has been long and arduous, and, indeed, without public attention or apparent concern. (p. 123)

Many research findings link past and present problems related to the Mexican American experience to their initial

contact experience with the Anglo Americans in our nation (Hutter, 1988; Romano, 1971, Weber, 1973; Zinn, 1990). More recently, Samora and Simon (1993) have also declared that

The educational history of Mexican Americans has been, unfortunately, one of neglect and misunderstanding. The Guadalupe-Hidalgo guaranteed the rights of this population after it was conquered and the Southwest became American citizens. Among the rights guaranteed by citizenship is the right to equal opportunity in education. . . . One of the most important organizations to be heard on the question of discrimination in education . . . was the American G.I. Forum founded by Dr. Hector Garcia of Corpus Christi. The American G.I. Forum successfully led court battles which brought an end to official and legal discrimination against Mexican Americans in schools. . . . Although the goal of equality in educational opportunity has not yet been achieved . . . changes are being made in the curricula of the school systems. (p. 164).

Samora and Simon's (1993) optimistic perspectives have recently been challenged by the aforementioned late 1994 and early 1995 developments in our nation, namely, the passage of California's Proposition 187 and the recent introduction

of the bill to declare English the official language of the United States, respectively. Such efforts appear to be directed primarily toward the Hispanic population. The late Graciela Olivera, an Arizonan who was the first woman graduate of the Notre Dame law school in 1970, has provided a very candid capsulized summary of the political, social, and educational history of the relationship that exists between the Mexican American and the American society in which they live.

It is unfortunate that a minority in this society which has contributed so much to the making of the country can be so neglected by its institutions such as the school systems, the government agencies, the churches and the foundations, while these same institutions are promoting the general welfare of the dominant culture. (Olivera, as cited in Samora & Simon, 1993, p. 245)

Research supports the view that the labor and other resources of the Mexican American population has been utilized by the United States when these assets were needed to promote prosperity for this nation. According to Acosta-Belen (1988), the United States has welcomed Mexicans when in need of cheap labor and sent them back when the need diminished. The recruitment of Mexican labor has taken place during periods of economic expansion since the 1800s

and continued through the 1980s. In conclusion, for the future of Mexican American and United States relations, it is suggested that rather than passing legislation such as California's Proposition 187, "future policy directions should be limited to the enforcement of federal laws governing immigration, employment, and working standards rather than overhauling the nation's immigration policies (Cardenas, as cited in Acosta-Belen, 1988, p. 39).

It is also recommended in Ignored Voices (de la Garza, 1985) that a primary problem with relations between Mexican Americans and members of the dominant culture stems from "lack of evidence regarding how Latinos think. . . . This ignorance is largely the result of scant attention paid to the Latino community" (p. 5).

This literature review of the Mexican Americans' experience in the United States reveals that their presence in this nation is prevalent--politically, economically, and numerically. According to Parade Magazine (Arizona Daily Star, 1994), "The rising visibility of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus can be attributed to its increased membership of 18 since the emergence of the new majority congressional districts in 1992" (p. 8).

Economically, some Hispanics in the United States are the wealthiest Hispanics in the world. One example is Lloyd Chavez, a self-made millionaire 35 times over who says that

his parents and faith in God are the main factors that have helped him excel in business, academics, and athletics despite the overwhelming racism, poverty, and discrimination of his youth (Arizona Daily Star, 1994).

Chavez (Arizona Daily Star, 1994) says, "My parents taught us not to let it get us down, to make us ineffective. Instead, to use it to prove that all those people were wrong who were trying to hold us back" (p. 48). The Hispanic population is continuing to grow at a rapid rate. This trend indicates that the United States cannot continue to pay only scant attention to this minority group (de la Garza, 1985).

The Chinese American Experience

The cultural roots and current interaction between the United States and Asia form a complex of concerns. . . . The familial and cultural development within Asian American communities comprise worlds of meaning . . . in the drama of the American experience that provide an occasion for learning as much about ourselves and about one of the newest clusters of ethnicities.

(Kromkowski, 1993, p. 104)

Considering their diversity, statistically, it is debatable whether it is logical to speak of Asian Americans as any kind of cohesive group at all. The term Asian

American encompasses a growing number of ethnic groups. They comprise the fastest-growing minority in the United States (Awanohara, as cited in Kromkowski, 1993; Maker, 1988).

Ideally, I would like to include an overview of other groups from the Asian American population, particularly the Japanese. They were, following the Chinese, one of the first two Asian groups to migrate to the United States. Both Chinese and Japanese Americans have resided in the United States since 1850 and 1868, respectively (Melendy, 1972). Unfortunately, due to time constraints, it is not feasible to include an overview of Japanese or other Asian American groups in this literature review. Therefore, because they were the first Asian minority group to migrate to this nation, the review will be limited to an examination of the Chinese American experience. My decision is similar to that of Wei (1993), who wrote a history of the Asian American Movement.

Originally, I had planned to pay equal attention to all the ethnic groups and social classes that made up Asian Americans. But in the course of my research it became evident that though in principle the movement embraced all Asian ethnic groups, . . . in practice it was dominated by Chinese and Japanese Americans. (p. x)

Wei (1993) further explained the importance of the Asian American movement, stating that it was

one of the ethnic consciousness movements that emerged during the 1960s and became integral to the ongoing movement to change the United States from a predominantly monocultural society into an authentic multicultural one. As such, it is part and parcel of the struggle to attain the ideal of an American cultural democracy. (p. xi)

Asians, like many other immigrant groups, were not welcomed to America as full participants in a culturally democratic society. They were faced with hardships, adversaries, and a variety of challenges when they attempted to settle in America. Many can be attributed to the longstanding perspectives that members of the dominant culture have held about immigrants. Research findings indicate that Americans have traditionally shown distrust toward foreigners. Almost a century ago, Americans were even cautioned about foreigners in the literature.

Everywhere the people [immigrants] tend to settle and set up their national manners, customs, and observances. Our task is to . . . assimilate and amalgamate these people as part of our American race, and to implant in these children, as far as can be done, the Anglo-Saxon conception of

righteousness, law and order, and popular government and awaken in them a reverence for our dramatic institutions, and for those things in our national life we as a people hold to be of abiding worth. (Cobberly, as cited in Banks, 1988, p. 4)

It is important to remember that it is the attitudes, behaviors, and practices of Americans that can contribute to immigrants' ability to adapt and survive in our nation.

Orientalism in American Life discusses the first impression held by Americans upon initial contact with Asians, stating that

To those who do not know them well, all Chinese . . . seem to look alike. . . . This uniformity, because of its very strangeness, sometimes seems ominous--a kind of uncanny depersonalized robot-like regimentation which is not quite human, and might prove sinister in a crisis. (Palmer, 1934, p. ix)

Despite the aforementioned concerns, the Chinese were not initially confronted with such negative attitudes when the discovery of gold in California created a need for Chinese labor in the field, laundries, private homes, mines, and, later, in 1865, the railroads (Hsu, 1971; Melendy, 1972). However, as European Americans arrived in California and began to compete with the Chinese for the same jobs, an

anti-Chinese movement began (Chan, 1991). When the Chinese went into the gold fields to stake claims, white miners chased them away and cheated them out of their claims (Mangiafico, 1988). Not only did they lose their jobs and claims, the Chinese were also forced to move to the ghettos and were further subjected to increased discriminatory attitudes and practices. Historically in the United States, moving minorities populations into ghetto areas has been one form of dealing with them.

Faced with racial prejudice and blatant discrimination in employment and housing, the Chinese immigrant families were further impacted by California laws barring their children from public schools if the schools were attended primarily by whites. The Chinese response to such hostile legislation was to group tightly together in ethnic neighborhoods where protection was easier (Lyman, as cited in Mangiafico, 1988).

Ethnic Families in America (Yuan, as cited in Mindel & Haberstein, 1971) describes the stages of development for the Chinese immigrants as they attempted to settle in this nation. The first stage was "involuntary choice" due to the host society's prejudice and discrimination toward the Chinese. The second stage was "defensive insulation" for the Chinese who needed help and cooperation against the hostile world. The third stage then became "voluntary

segregation" in which a strong sense of group identification and well-being developed among the Chinese who shared similar cultural backgrounds (religion, language, nationalism, and problems of adjustment in a new environment). The fourth stage involved "gradual assimilation," a process that may not have been easy due to voluntary segregation and social isolation from the majority group (pp. 127-128).

Discrimination and alienation affected the Chinese American family in many areas of their lives. In the beginning, the Chinese population consisted primarily of males who migrated to the United States without mates or other family members. In 1890, there were 2,678.9 Chinese males for every 100 females (U.S. Bureau of the Census, as cited in Palmer, 1934). Their single status allowed them to work for less pay which created another hardship economically and also promoted hostility from white workers. Palmer makes it clear that

There is no question that the Chinese working as single men with low standards of comfort . . . could always underbid, . . . but there was more than economics involved. The Chinese suffered then, and suffer still to a lesser degree, from his "high visibility." . . . Other nationalities more or less merged into the American scene and

blended with its inhabitants. But not the Chinese. He was unmistakably Asiatic and different from the norm (physically). This negative view of single American Chinese males' physical appearance did not promote the development of interpersonal relationships between them and American females. Married Chinese American males were restricted from bringing their wives to America due to the Immigration Act of 1924, which tightened the enforcement of the earlier regulation that American-born males of Chinese descent could not bring their wives after they had gone to China to select a wife. As a result, many husbands and wives were separated on opposite sides of the ocean for years. . . . Discriminatory immigration laws were crucial in producing sex-ratio imbalance, not to speak of marital and familial dislocation and [discordance]. (Haung, as cited in Mindel & Haberstein, 1976, p. 124)

The Chinese American Family

The gradual emergence of the Chinese family in the United States was also influenced by the limited availability of Chinese females due to the economical reasoning of members of the dominant culture and the Chinese

male population's and China's social norms regarding females.

Scholars . . . have attributed the virtual absence of Asian female emigrants to the patriarchal, patrilineal, and patrilocal nature of Chinese society. . . . But quite apart from traditional attitudes toward women, there were other reasons that limited the number of female immigrants. One was that labor recruiters initially wanted mainly unattached male workers able to survive under rough conditions. . . . From the Asian workers' point of view, it was less costly to sustain their families in their homelands than to feed them in the United States. (Chan, 1991, pp. 104-105)

Given these restricted attitudes regarding female Chinese immigration to America, the number of families formed in this nation remained small. Legal restrictions also curtailed the formation of Chinese American families. In general, the courts treated Chinese females in a manner parallel to males. Because the original 1882 exclusion law barred Chinese laborers, the courts decided the wives of laborers also could not be admitted.

As a result, the number of Chinese American children was small: about 500 in 1870 and only 9,000 as late as 1900--half a century after

Chinese immigration began. Only after 1940, after nine decades of settlement, did the percent of American-born individuals of Chinese ancestry (comprising 52% of the population) outnumber the foreign born.

During the decade between 1930 and 1940, the sex ratio was 80% male and 20% female according to the U.S. Census report. (Mindel & Habenstein, 1976, p. 128)

Immigration laws and Chinese cultural and social norms have continuously influenced Chinese American family living. Traditionally, Chinese have placed value on homogamy. In China parents often frowned on children marrying out of the province let alone out of one's country or race. Such attitudes were transplanted to America. However, the initial imbalance in the ratio of males and females in the American Chinese population created a problem for this minority group which, in turn, resulted in interracial marriages between Chinese and Americans. The research of Hsu (as cited in Mindel and Habenstein, 1976) shows that although

Informants among Chinese . . . families confirm that most parents prefer their children to marry Chinese, . . . many of them are fighting a losing battle. One may hypothesize that in the future

intermarriage between second generation Chinese and non-Chinese will increase. (p. 131)

Despite the existence of interracial marriages within the Chinese culture, it is evidenced in the literature that Social distance and strong adherence to a family loyalty pattern contributed to the discouragement of intermarriage. . . . Earlier immigrants objected to intermarriage out of the desire to maintain racial homogeneity and avoid hostile situations. . . . Chinese object to interracial marriage because it would be socially inconvenient, that is, communication between the non-Chinese spouse and the Chinese family, friends, and relatives would be difficult.

(Gordon, Hsu, & Lee, as cited in Mindel & Haberstein, 1976, p. 131)

The Challenge of the American Dream (Hsu, 1971) identifies one of the common concerns among Chinese Americans regarding intermarriage, showing that although quite a few Chinatown Chinese have intermarried with non-Chinese, the rate is higher among scholars and professionals. The Chinese Americans' view of Caucasian Americans is that they are in general "wild, flippant, irresponsible, undependable, childish, unsubtle, and, worst of all, foreign" (Mindel & Haberstein, 1972, p. 131). Chinese children have been

conditioned to refrain from behaving aggressively. In general, they grow up in the midst of adults, their parents as well as members of the extended family. Chinese children are seldom left at home with babysitters. Being exposed to the companionship of adults increases these children's awareness of what socially approved patterns of behavior should be, as well as what others think of them. Chinese are inclined to be socially and psychologically dependent on others because they are tied closer to their world and fellow men (Mindel & Haberstein, 1976).

Respect and obedience toward elders is another traditional value of the Chinese family. Elderly parents are automatically included in the households of younger generations, especially when the parent is widowed. When Chinese workers migrated to America during the 1800s, they helped the families they left in China and often bought property which gave them a sense of security and stability. Sustained family continuity is a value that has contributed to enabling Chinese Americans to withstand the hardships of racial prejudice, discrimination, and persecution, particularly during their initial years in America.

Characteristics of determination and valuing the family--both young and old members--continue to sustain the Chinese Americans. A noted Pulitzer Prize winning novelist, Pearl S. Buck, wrote about all levels of Chinese society,

but her focus was on the character of the Chinese peasant as "hardworking, strong, persevering, . . . kind toward children, respectful toward elders, all in all an admirable [and] warmly loving character" (Jones, as cited in Kitano & Daniels, 1995, p. 39). This image of the Chinese American does not eliminate the concerns this group has about its families' future.

In spite of the level of reverence for the elderly, Chinese Americans are concerned about intergenerational relations. The young are seeking new role models and stronger alliances with their peers. Parents are fearful that their children will forget their native language and cultural upbringing. No matter what the family situation or conflicts happen to be, Chinese parents are adamant about their children's present well-being and future success in school and society.

Chinese parents' attitudes toward education are well documented (Chan, 1991; Hsu, 1971; Kitano & Daniels, 1995; Kromkowski, 1993; Melendy, 1972). Due to the important role of family, hard work, and academic achievement, the Chinese Americans have made profound progress. The establishment of the Citizens Committee to Repeal Chinese Exclusion and Place Immigration on a Quota Basis led by Pearl Buck's husband, New York Publisher Richard J. Walsh, provided assistance in the progress made by Chinese Americans. This committee was

primarily responsible for having the 15 separate laws that affected Chinese exclusion repealed in December 1943, allowing Chinese to become "eligible for naturalization on the same terms as other aliens" (Kitano & Daniels, 1995, p. 42). The repeal did not consider family reunification but was important because it reversed the trend of immigration naturalization law as it related to Asians. Another law was passed in 1946 making alien wives admissible on a non-quota basis. Within an eight-year period after the 1946 act, in spite of a limited number of Chinese quota spaces (840), almost 10,000 females migrated to America. This influx of females further impacted the Chinese American culture (Kitano & Daniels, 1995).

Further research confirms that "Chinese Americans occupy a high status among ethnic groups in America" (Mindel & Haberstein, 1976, p. 137). President Franklin Roosevelt admitted that the 1943 quota repeal act, though overtly racist according to Kitano and Daniels (1995), was deserved by the Chinese due to "their great contribution to the cause of decency and freedom entitles them" to it (p. 41).

The continued progress of Chinese Americans is acknowledged in the findings of Asian Americans: Emerging Minorities (Petersen, as cited in Kitano & Daniels, 1995).

Since 1960 the most striking characteristics of Chinese Americans have been its rapid growth and

the degrees to which much of the Chinese American population would begin to be viewed as a "model minority." . . . By the early 1980s, the American media were noticing the great success of many Asian Americans. . . . It is ironic . . . that the image of Asians has gone from "pariahs to paragons," and certainly among the current generation of Chinese Americans there are many paragons. (p. 51)

In general the academic and economic achievements of Asian Americans have stirred both admiration and envy. One estimate has it that

Nearly half of all United States graduate students are Asian Americans. The average income for most Asian Americans is at least as high, and usually higher, than that of whites. One explanation might be that more family members, working longer hours, contribute to the family till. (Awanohara, as cited in Kromkowski, 1993, p. 115)

Traditionally, the initial immigrants during the first few years in the United States appear to be resolved to hard work, family cohesiveness, and education (Mangiafico, 1988). The ability to overcome adversity and barriers to success has been attributed to the religious background of Chinese

Americans.³ "The Chinese believed in the existence of many Gods . . . with each god serving a different function. All the gods help them discharge their different duties in daily living. . . . The Chinese way in religion is non-divisive . . . but inclusive" (Hsu, 1971, p. 54).

Finally, the Chinese Americans' modern-day habit of contributing to the family till also has both historical and religious significance. According to Melendy (1972),

The meaning of family was constantly impressed upon young Chinese. . . . The common goal of family support and sacrifice lay at the heart of the Confucian family system. The cement that held the family together was the land--the source of life. The assets--land, farm implements, housing--were jointly held. (p. 6)

Educationally, the success of Asian Americans is sometimes viewed, by that group, as being paradoxical. Whatever the cause, racism in one form or another, subtle or blatantly obvious, plagues many Asian Americans. "The very visible success of some Asian immigrants and the power of Asian finance have triggered a backlash. . . . Seen as a 'model minority,' Asians are often (for example) shut out of affirmative action programs" (Hua-Eoan, as cited in

³For a more detailed history of the Chinese religions of Taoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism, see Hsu, 1971 and Melendy, 1972.

Kromkowski, 1993, p. 118). On the other hand, Asian American progress is still being made, particularly in higher education institutions. Throughout the nation, the number of full-time college professors nearly doubled, to 19,000, from 1975 to 1985. Asians make up 10% of California's population, but 12.2% of the state's enrollment. At the University of California, Berkeley, the proportion is 2.8%. The University of California named Chang-lin Tien, a Chinese American, as head of that prestigious campus (Chua-Eon, as cited in Kromkowski, 1993).

The value of enhancing our knowledge about the Asian American culture is discussed in Understanding Asian Americans (Li & Li, 1990), where it is suggested that while understanding this complex group does present a challenge, the resulting enhanced communication and insight benefit not only Asian Americans but each group that helps the intricate tapestry of America's cultural heritage.

The Jewish American Experience

No people on earth has been driven so harried, as has been the Jew. No race has suffered so long. One sanctuary the Jew has always had, however. That has been his home, his family. (Neidle, 1967, p. 235)

Historically, suffering had not been a foreign phenomenon for Jewish immigrants when they arrived in the

United States. Prior to their arrival in America, oppression, persecution, and nomadism were integral parts of the Jewish experience (Pessin, 1966; Smith, 1987). Another devastating Jewish experience was the Holocaust, in which six million Jews were killed during World War II. Ample documentation of these experiences is provided in the literature by writers (e.g., Abrams, 1985; Bauer, 1981; St. John, 1969; Wirtz, 1978) who have examined various aspects of the history of the Jews.

This phase of the literature review focuses on the Jewish American experience as related to their cultural, social, and educational experiences since migrating to the United States and how each has impacted the family members of this minority group. Jewish people, like other groups, have relied primarily on their families and religious beliefs and practices for basic support systems as they have migrated to different places throughout the world.

From the earliest days of the exodus, Jews have been a people on the move. Their settlements may have at times seemed permanent, but time and again forces or events, political, social, or religious, have conspired to make them a nomadic people. The most remarkable characteristic of these people has been that in spite of the oppression and persecution, or perhaps because of them, Jews have retained a remarkable degree of distinct religious and cultural

identity (Farber et al., as cited in Mindel & Haberstein, 1976).

In colonial America, congregation and community were synonymous, and the congregation served all communal needs. In European countries, the Jew was a member of a community. He became so through birth, and the law of the land considered him as such unless he willingly disassociated himself from it through conversion to another faith. In America, one was a member of a religious group through an act of association or affiliation. For the American Jew, congregation replaced community as the vehicle for Jewish association and identification (Karp, as cited in Wagner, 1977). Religion was not only a stabilizing force but a stabilizing, culturalizing, and socializing force as well (Wagner, 1977).

Stabilization was of utmost importance to Jewish immigrants. The same needs that gave rise to the migration of other ethnic groups drove the Jews to America from other parts of the world; but for the Jews, these needs were acute. . . . In a number of significant respects, Jewish immigration to the United States constituted a special situation, quite unlike the one created by all the other groups. . . . [The majority of] others could, if they so chose, go back to their old countries; for

Jews there was generally no way back. Jews came here to stay. When they left their old countries, they burned their bridges behind them, and at every opportunity they brought their families with them. (Sherman, 1961, pp. 59-60)

Having their families intact provided a higher level of stability and solidarity within the American Jewish group. Writers on the Jewish family (e.g., Mindel & Haberstein, 1976) have observed that solidarity has been a hallmark of Jewish domestic life throughout history. Strong support systems for their immigrants enhanced solidarity within the Jewish American population. Such systems have traditionally been an integral part of the Jewish settlement patterns throughout the United States, thus enabling their immigrants to adapt more readily to their new environment (Pleur, 1982). A description of how Jewish Americans provided immigrant assistance is provided in Persistence and Flexibility: Anthropological Perspectives on the Jewish American Experience (Zenner, 1988):

The unique qualities of openness and friendliness in American society, which have enabled Jews to flourish and prosper, have profoundly transformed the communities seeking to use this freedom to maintain themselves--to practice a way of life

threatened and beleaguered in other times and places. (p. 44)

Halpern (as cited in Zenner, 1988) phrases the problem as a question:

How can the Jewish people survive in the face of hostility which threatens to destroy it, and on the other hand, in the face of a friendliness which threatens to dissolve group ties and submerge Jews as a whole by absorbing them individually. (p. 44)

The paradoxical situation of the Jewish emigrants to America is further addressed by Sarna's (1986) study, which tends to view the Jewish immigrant as having opted for the absorption of individualism that is so typical of American society, thus more or less abandoning the traditional mores of the old world.

The New World challenged his Old World. In order to survive here, the Jew found it expedient to extemporize, to compromise, and in all this, in the final analysis, meant a form of emancipation. Europe had never offered Jews more than a second-class citizenship; here in America, however, he encountered less paternalism and a more sympathetic government. By 1775, he had come very close to achieving first-class citizenship. . . .

When the Jew left Europe, he left behind . . . physically at least, the all persuasive authority of the Jewish community. . . . America signified the ultimate frontier of Jewish life. Religious controls were inevitably relaxed here. The individual was free to do as he pleased. . . . the new American Jew . . . much preferred to be a successful merchant than a talmudic scholar.

(Marcus, as cited in Sarna, 1986, p. 13)

Marcus (as cited in Sarna, 1986) further contends that "the typical . . . Jew was true to his heritage because he was not pressed to be untrue to it. . . . The Jewish immigrant manifested an aptitude for acculturation and even for total integration" (p. 14).

According to Jackson (as cited in Sarna, 1986), the American frontier gave Jewish immigrants

Coarseness and strength combined with acuteness and inquisitiveness, that practical, inventive turn of mind, quick to find expedients; that masterful grasp of material things, lacking in the artistic but powerful to effect great ends; that restless nervous energy, that dominant individualism. Working for good and for evil, and withal that buoyance and exuberance which comes with freedom. (p. 14)

Such freedom led to success for Jewish Americans. Their educational attainments, occupational achievements, and successful careers have been among the best documented aspects of Jewish life (Holdschleider, as cited in Sternberg et al., 1991). There is, first and foremost, the Jewish tradition of assigning to education the top rung in its scale of values (Wagner, 1977). There are good reasons why Jews "compose about half of the American intellectual elite" (Kadushin, as cited in Wagner, 1977, p. 4), although they constitute less than 3% of the American population.

In Changing Jewish Life, Goldscheider (as cited in Sternberg et al., 1991) discusses the success of Jewish Americans. He also questions the cost to the Jewish family and community.

Has social mobility led to the socioeconomic assimilation and increased strain between the generations? Has changing jobs, education, and careers altered the extent in timing of marriage, the roles of women and the number of children in families? Most importantly, how has the quality of Jewish life been affected by the unprecedented high levels of education, occupation, and income attained by young Jewish men and women in the United States? Do socioeconomic achievements of

American Jews threaten the continuity and cohesion of the Jewish community? (p. 4)

The intent for the inclusion of such questions in this segment of the review is to provide an explanatory examination of data regarding how the thrust toward upward mobility impacted the Jewish family as its members achieved educational, occupational, and economic success in America. The family has continuously been the foundation for the Jewish American family through the process of achievement for its members--individually and collectively--throughout history. This foundation can be traced to biblical times.

Given its biblical background, it is deemed appropriate at this point to provide a brief history of the Jewish family beginning with a historical perspective based on findings in Jewish Family Issues: A Resource Guide (Schlesinger, 1987) and progressing to the present, including more recent research findings. The major sources of the relationship between religion and the Jewish family can be found in the Torah, the Talmud, and the Mishnah (see Table 1).

According to Schlesinger (1987), the family was termed "Bet Av" (house of father). To found a family was to build a house. The "baxbit" (house) was a subdivision of the "mishpachah" (clan, family in the larger scale). The

Table 1

Major Sources of Family Life and Religion in Judaism

Source	Description
Torah	The first five books of the Old Testament.
Talmud	The Babylonian Talmud consists of 63 books with commentaries of the Torah by over 2,000 scholars.
Mishnah	Six orders of legal material, arranged by topic, which are the laws of Talmud. These laws include ethical teachings, rituals, etc.

(Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1994, p. 239)

criterion for membership in a family was blood relationship, legal ties (marriage), or geographical proximity.

The functions of family members are reflected in the Torah. The father was head of the family unit and owner of the property. He was chief authority. The mother occupied a special place of honor and authority in spite of her subordination to her husband. The purposes of marriage

according to the Bible are companionship and procreation. The Hebrew term for marriage, "kiddushin," was popularly interpreted as the "state of holiness." Children were universally regarded as a blessing. As early as biblical times, the family had obligations to educate and train their children. Not only was the family responsible for bringing them into the world but also for rearing and preparing them for participation in the adult community (Schlesinger, 1987).

By the Middle Ages, monogamy had been a Jewish practice for 1,500 years (Schlesinger, 1987) and became a legal mandate for Judaism in the Western world. Divorces on the grounds established in Talmudic days were not rare. Marriages were often contracted at such an early age that sometimes divorces occurred before the marriage was consummated. Divorce carried no stigma, so girls easily remarried.

Domesticity in Jewish men, a noted characteristic, dates from the Middle Ages (Heinrich, as cited in Schlesinger, 1987).

The Jewish home was a haven. . . . The home was the place where the Jew was at his best. In the marketplace, he was perhaps hard and sometimes ignoble; in the world he helped the judge

misunderstand him; in the home he was himself.

(Heinrich, as cited in Schlesinger, 1988, p. 13)

Excerpts from Nathan Glazer's (as cited in Schlesinger, 1987) summary of the Jewish family reveal that at the end of the 1950s, past family traditions were prevalent in their daily activities, their rituals, and practices. On the other hand, The Traditions of the American Jew (Wagner, 1977) provides evidence that the Jewish American family and community had weakened by the end of that decade.

The loss, the seepage, the attenuation, during the processes of acculturation and accommodation may all be related to the weakening of two major instrumentalities which had served Jewry in the maintenance of the group and its mores and standards: the family and the community. Both had roots in the teachings of Judaism, but both also had been socially functional in the historical experience of the Jews.

Jews became much more like the white middle class in America. Divorce became prevalent. Family roles and relationships changed. The extended family disintegrated. The three generation household disappeared.

Perhaps the most critical of all was the adoption of the Christian categories of "religious" and "secular." For Judaism, the religion and teachings of a way of life were no longer inherent in every aspect of daily living but became a "department" of life . . . on par with other activities like TV viewing or going to the ball game. (Shapiro, as cited in Wagner, 1977, p. 46)

Nearly a decade ago, Cohen (1986) presented a more optimistic view of the Jewish American family, exclaiming that

Today it is commonplace to hear that the Jewish family is threatened . . . but suggesting that a closer examination of the most recent evidence . . . contradicts the pessimistic view . . . [of] the American Jewish family as nowhere as sick as some have suggested, but it is certainly undergoing (or has recently undergone) significant changes. (p. 221)

Concern about the changes occurring within the Jewish American family motivated the Jewish community to respond not just with anxiety but also with plans to strengthen the Jewish family. It was determined that strengthening the

family should be highlighted as a priority of the Jewish community

In discussion groups and study at family retreats; public forums, in self-help groups, in educational programs, and as a subject of academic research.

. . . Agents of change should be utilized to encourage reexamination of prevailing values and to counteract styles of behavior destructive of family life. . . . Jewish communal agencies should also develop their own family life programs for adolescents, young adults, high school and college students, single persons, engaged couples and so on. (Himmelfarb, as cited in Sternberg et al., 1991, p. 154)

The effectiveness of Jewish education became an issue of concern as the Jewish American community investigated ways to study, support, and sustain the Jewish American family. It was determined that one solution could be the enhancement and effectiveness of Jewish Family Education (JFE) to increase Jewish commitment at an early age. The purpose of JFE was to accomplish the following goals.

1. Involve parents in their children's Jewish education.
2. Establish contexts for parents Jewish learning.

3. Establish programs for joint family involvement in Jewish learning.
4. Build community among families and adapt Jewish learning to the home and [hopefully] putting Jewish family education into practice. (Sternberg, 1991, p. 164)

The effectiveness of the JFE Program has not yet been determined, but Steinberg's (1981) view is that

Against the tide of the cultural background of the great family debate that has been raging since the 1970s, JFE has risen as one response to the crisis of the Jewish family. It is an educational response that simultaneously aims to support the family "qua" family and to enhance the family's capacity to transmit Jewish culture from one generation to the next. (p. 165)

The concern regarding transmission of Jewish culture to future generations stems from present-day occurrences in the Jewish community, e.g., later marriages, therefore children later in life; the rise in the Jewish divorce rate; and the increased rate of intermarriages. Yet, some theorists continue to view the Jewish American family as being vital and resilient. Cohen (1986), for example, declares that "the American Jewish family is not as sick as some have suggested. . . . The little data we have . . . suggests

that Jews who divorce remarry faster than others; . . . those who do are better able to establish second marriages" (p. 223). His study of The American Jewish Family reveals that there is too little evidence to substantiate the fear so often expressed in Jewish communal circles that intermarriage is "going through the roof" (p. 224).

To the extent that intermarriage has increased, not all consequences adversely affect Jewish continuity (Cohen, 1986). Cohen sees out-marriage as the immediate cause for conversion to Judaism of about one-sixth of the Gentile-born spouses (mostly women). They typically turn out to be as committed to Judaism as the average Jew who marries another born Jew. Children of Jews who intermarry are often raised as Jews. Cohen says that "most of the Jewish-parent respondents in our study claimed that their children were being raised as Jews. . . . We estimated that intermarriage actually may be serving to increase the number of Jewish children" (p. 225).

Another dimension of the modern American Jewish family is the increasing number of single-parent families. Research (Bayme & Rosen, 1994; Schlesinger, 1987) reveals that the Jewish single-parent families have some unique problems, particularly those related to the children. According to Fishman (as cited in Bayme & Rosen, 1994), "nationwide an estimated third of Jewish children live in

homes that have been touched by divorce, with approximately 10% living in homes in which at least one parent has been divorced" (p. 23). Some major problems for such children are related to the Jewish emphasis on family, particularly around holidays. Another important area of concern is that with the majority of single-parent households being headed by women, the financial base of the parent/child unit is severely diminished because females usually have a smaller annual income from earnings than divorced males. In a sense, the Jewish emphasis on family works against those whose families are no longer intact by making it difficult to fund a niche in the community and making them feel even more isolated. Intergenerational relationships can become more difficult when children of divorced families are less responsive--emotionally and financially--to their aging parents. No aspect of contemporary American life has aroused as much anxiety and debate in the Jewish community as changes in the family life of Jewish Americans. Many Jewish Americans feel caught between two value systems. The Jewish Family and Jewish Continuity (Bayme & Rosen, 1994) also examines the impact of the aforementioned paradoxical role as related to the individualistic American ethos which gives priority to an individual's talents, strengths, and opportunities and Jewish tradition, which gives priority to the needs of the family unit and the community first. The

transformed Jewish American family, like the transformed American family, is influenced by widespread cultural attitudes

which stress individual achievement and pleasure; by materialistic expectations . . . , by a tightening economic market requiring dual incomes to maintain middle-class lifestyles, . . . and by patterns of chronological separation that split families. (Fishman, as cited in Bayme & Rosen, 1994, pp. 34-35).

Historically, Jews have always perceived individual family and community as closely intertwined. "Family offered a route both for individual self-fulfillment and for communal vitality and continuity" (Bayme, 1994, p. 270). Jewish families have faced many challenges in the past, declares Fishman (as cited in Bayme & Rosen, 1994). Today, however, Jewish families face the challenge of retaining their vitality and cohesion while responding to the opportunities of an individualistic and open society.

This overview of various minority groups in the United States provides support for the theory that each group--regardless of its initial contact experience with the majority group--aspires to become a part of the American dream (Hutter, 1988; Queen & Haberstein, 1967; Smith, 1987, Zinn, 1990). Jewish Americans and other minority groups

have viewed education as the avenue for achieving this aspiration (Bayme & Rosen, 1994; Sternberg, 1991). The advantage for the Jewish immigrants was that when they migrated to America, they had two factors in their favor--their backgrounds were more or less suited for what was going on in American society and economy, and they effectively used the principal ladder for upward mobility--education.

When the question of why some groups experience more success than others is raised, most respondents agree that discrimination is one major contributing factor. At the same time, it is acknowledged that although all minority groups have had the experience of discriminatory practices in common, some groups have been subjected to such practices to a greater extent than others. According to Chan's (1991) findings, for example, "racial discrimination is what separates the historical experience of Asians from that of Europeans, on the one hand, and makes it resemble that of enslaved Africans on the other hand" (p. 42). Smith (1987) has concluded that the differences in levels of success among America's minority groups can be attributed to "the unequal access to . . . society's income. The government has provided some groups with a system of protection to this system and has denied the same to others on account of race" (p. 64). Hutter's (1988) study, The Changing Family:

Comparative Perspectives, provides the following explicit description of the factors that determine the status of different groups in America. "Prejudices and biases--along with social, political, cultural and economic discrimination patterns and processes by local, state and federal governmental agencies--were seen to have affected these ethnic groups" (p. 139).

The African American Experience

The inclusion of a descriptive overview of various minority groups for this study of an American black family has provided a research-based historical perspective of each group which has, first, enhanced my knowledge of each group and its family life and, second, increased my ability to be more objective in the process of researching my own family for this dissertation. It is my premise that the study of an African American family is unlikely without at least alluding to the fact that race and racism have been integral parts of its members' experiences. Yet it behooves us to be keenly aware of an admonishment provided in an article by Elizabeth Martinez (as cited by Kromkowski, 1993), "There's more to Racism than Black and White" (p. 82). I can relate to the value of such an admonishment, which enables me to have a broader perspective regarding the experiences of other minority groups in our multi-ethnic, multilingual, and multiculturally diverse society.

Neidles (1967) states that the necessity to readjust, to accept a different status and changed living conditions caused immigrants a great deal of anguish and deprivation at least in the beginning. All faced the struggle for acceptance, and when coupled with the struggle for a livelihood, it was sufficient, in Thomas Payne's words, to try men's souls. Some became triumphantly successful; others never overcame their hardships. In the words of Louis Adamic (as cited by Neidles, 1967), all helped to "feed the roots of America's . . . greatness" (p. 17).

The roots of America's greatness are intertwined with the history of the Africans who were involuntarily brought to America specifically for that purpose. Acknowledgment of such intentions has not become a part of America's recorded history, at least not in the sense that credit is attributed to the slaves. One explanation for the absence of such acknowledgment is the following theorem. Those who perpetuated slavery could not acknowledge slaves' contributions to the "making of America" when in their view, slaves were not even human. Such acknowledgment would have been contradictory to the slave masters' mentality. American history cannot pay tribute to those of such low status. Instead, a reverse perspective is provided to the literature.

The 1932 edition of a best-selling textbook by two northern liberal historians (as cited in Zinn, 1990) saw slavery as perhaps the Negro's "necessary transition to civilization" (p. 168). Economists and cliometricians (statistical historians) have tried to assess slavery by estimating how much money was spent for food and medical care, but how can this describe the reality of slavery as it was to the human beings who lived inside of it (Zinn, 1990). The response to such a question can be quantified best depending on whether one has ancestral ties to the perpetrators or victims of slavery. The distance between the perspectives of the descending members of the two groups is so great that the gap has not become interconnected in theory or practice. The difference in these perspectives is best illustrated when slavery or race-related issues surface and are discussed by the two ancestral groups.

Race is an area in which Americans have been conditioned by a history of painful conflict. Awareness and the truthful acknowledgment of the history of racism since slavery can contribute to the enhancement of interracial relations in America. Each race, and blacks are not exempt, has its prejudices. In Black Lives, White Lives, Blauner (1989) says, "I have wondered whether a [black] life history focused on racial experience is . . . likely to elicit a depth of response . . . from members of the dominant racial

group" (p. 324). Americans, in reality, have become a bit afraid of what we really think of race. Since we do not easily tolerate in others what we will not tolerate in ourselves, we tend to censor, name-call, or even punish those who express their real thoughts.

I agree with the philosophy of Martinez (as cited in Kromkowski, 1993) that there is more to racism than black and white, and at the same time, I also declare that slavery was a black and white issue. It involved an unbalanced relationship between masters and slaves, oppressors and victims, namely, Anglo Europeans and African Americans. This imbalance created a system of inequality that has continued to plague blacks and their families since their arrival in America.

Given the conditions under which black people are forced to live, the miracle of the black family . . . is not that some have fallen but that so many still stand. (Johnson, as cited in Ebony, 1993, p. 27)

The history of African Americans in the United States is quite different from other ethnic minority groups. This history began with forced migration and slavery and continued through the eras of Jim Crow, segregation, desegregation, and integration. Although slavery did not originate in the United States, the enslavement of Africans

and their brutal transportation to this country marked a new chapter in the history of man's inhumanity to man (Staples & Johnson, 1993). It also marked the initial contact experience of African Americans and Anglo Americans in the United States during the early 17th century.

Since its inception, slavery has been a controversial issue in this nation. The element of inhumaneness that existed during the era of slavery can be viewed as the basis for the controversies that seem to be inevitable even today when issues related to slavery are discussed. Research findings indicate that "slavery was not new to humankind or endemic to the United States" (Staples & Johnson, 1993, p. 41), but for the Africans who were brought to this country as slaves, it was a different kind of enslavement than that experienced in Africa. Zinn (1990) provides a descriptive view of this difference.

Slavery existed in the African states, but the "slaves" of Africa were more like the serfs of Europe. It was a harsh servitude, but they had rights which slaves brought to the United States did not have, and they were altogether different from the human cattle of the slave ships and the American plantations. (p. 27)

Zinn also acknowledges that African slavery was hardly to be praised but concedes that it was different from the

plantation slavery in America which was "lifelong, morally crippling, destructive of family ties, [and] without hope for the future" (p. 27).

Africans came to America from a culture of tribal customs and family ties, communal life, and traditional rituals. The syndrome of learned helplessness set in upon the slaves' removal from such an environment. Slave hunters, who were often also black, captured slaves in the interior of Africa and sold them on the coast where they were placed in pens. Many times these slaves came from different tribes and could not speak the language of those with whom they were placed in which close proximity. It is important to note that the loss of a common language began to impact the Africans even before they left Africa. Disruption of family was another consequence. These losses and disruptions illustrate the uniqueness of the history of blacks in America, but that history is not complete without the inclusion, however brief, of the role of the African American family during the era of slavery.

Slaves were defined as something less than human.

. . . They were incorporated into the economy as property on the same basis as livestock, their value set by their utility. . . . The majority [sic] of males were used in the fields, domiciled separately, and moved about as they were needed.

Only under special circumstances--as house servants or artisans--were they permitted to have wives and to establish families. . . . The slave women were used as breeder nurses and household servants. Sexual exploitation by white males was a common experience for female slaves. . . .

Whatever family arrangements existed in Africa were stripped from or eventually lost to the Negroes brought to America. The memories of such heritage dimmed with the passing centuries.

(Queen & Haberstein, 1967, pp. 315-316)

Some theorists do not agree that blacks have been stripped of their African heritage. Noble (as cited in Willie, 1988) suggests that there is parallelism between African tribalism and the black family in America. Slave children were economic assets to slave owners; therefore, slaves were expected to marry. After emancipation, families who did manage to marry and to develop stability during slavery held fast, but those who did not broke apart. According to Zinn (1990), slavery was abolished in 1868, but liberation could only go as far as the interest of the dominant group. It was only a matter of time before blacks would, once again, be reduced to conditions not far from slavery.

Jim Crowism came into being, and, according to Brooks (1990), that term is coexistent with the separate but equal policy brought alive by the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Reconstruction Amendments and statutes in the final decades of the 19th century. Segregation was the legal sanction to provide separate but supposedly equal education and facilities for America's black children. In essence, "segregation is usually a product of malice, hostility, and ill will" (Prager et al., 1986, p. 188). All such sanctions, rulings, and laws have primarily negatively impacted the lives of blacks and their families, particularly children.

Delpit (1995) suggests that appropriate education for poor children and children of color can only be devised in consultation with adults who share their culture. Black parents, teachers of color, and members of communities must be allowed to participate fully in the discussion of what kind of instruction is in the child's best interest. Delpit's findings indicate that desegregation has not been an effective method for providing black children with quality education. Another view is that the most complete desegregation is generally said to exist when the racial balance in each school matches the racial composition of the total school community (Josey, as cited in Fife, 1992). It has been the absence of that condition that has required

students and teachers to travel long distances from the communities where they lived. Thus, the system of large-scale busing came into prominence, impacting and disrupting family living in the homes of black and whites.

England and Morgan's (1986) research in Desegregating Big City Schools shows that busing continues to draw fire as the most disliked tool for desegregating schools. Although busing "is unpopular, another commonly offered argument against the use of busing is that it precipitates the withdrawal of white students from the school system. . . . Greater busing distances are associated with greater white flight" (p. 20). Yet, "minorities tend to bear a disproportionate burden of the increase" (p. 19).

Historically, black families' experiences have included bearing the burden in instances where social or political change takes place in the United States, whether the thrust has been slavery, Jim Crowism, segregation, desegregation, or integration. Thus, scholars need to examine the contemporary "age of equality for mechanisms that promote white self-interests at the expense of African-Americans" (Reed, 1993, p. 4).

"Although faced with a variety of serious obstacles, the black family--determined, dynamic, and diverse--continues to uphold the tradition of being the most

important institution in Black America" (Johnson, 1993, p. 6).

Willie's (1988) study confirms that the black family is "determined, dynamic, and diverse" (Johnson, 1993, p. 6). His research included 18 case studies analyzing the situations of black families in the total social system and examining what blacks have contributed to society that is unique. Particular attention is paid to the male and female roles at large. Willie states that the purpose of his study was to get "at the everyday happenings in the lives of black people. . . . We were trying to understand a style of life-the habits of family members, the customs and conveniences of the group" (p. 9).

Of the 18 case studies in Willie's (1988) study, I selected three to include in this literature review. The families represent the black affluent or middle class, the working class, and the poor. A brief description of each group is provided for this literature review.

The affluent or middle-class status of most black families is a result of dual employment of husband and wife. Black men and women rely heavily upon the public sector for employment at liveable wages. The public school has been an employment haven for black working wives. . . . Because of job-connected requirements, black

female teachers . . . may be more highly educated than their male spouses. The length of employment of professional working wives is likely to be as long as that of their husbands, with only brief interruptions for child-bearing. The number of children in black middle-class families tends to be small, ranging from one to three, but more often two or less. . . . The black woman in a public sector job . . . with only a few interruptions in her labor force status tends to have significant earnings by the time she reaches middle age.

Continuity in employment is also a characteristic of black men in affluent households. Public sector jobs, especially in the post office, have been a source of support and security. . . . A few black men are in business, professionals or educators. Husbands and wives work cooperatively with a genuine team effort. Perhaps the best example of the liberated woman is found among wives in the black middle class. They and their husbands have acted as partners out of necessity and neither has ultimate authority. Because of racial discrimination and the income limitations on the kind of jobs available to

blacks, joint efforts are needed to achieve a comfortable style of life. Together they are able to make it. Affluent black families . . . earned annual incomes--usually joint incomes of husband and wife--at or above the national level. Such income is spent lavishly on home and the education of children. For most affluent black families, their home is their castle. (p. 49)

There is little time for socializing. Most families live near relatives--usually the reason for migrating to a particular city. Socially they visit relatives, hold membership in one or two organizations, attend church regularly and spend the remainder of time in household upkeep and maintenance chores.

In most affluent black families, one spouse is usually a college graduate. Often both are college graduates who struggled and made sacrifices to complete their formal education. Not infrequently, college and graduate school are completed on a part-time basis after adulthood and full-time employment. Parents usually encourage their children to complete college, and do not want them to have to struggle as long as they have. An ambition of most parents is to give

their children opportunities that they themselves did not have.

Middle-class black families in the United States manifest probably better than any other popular group the Puritan orientation toward work, success and self-reliance so characteristic of the basic values of this nation. The way of life of affluent black Americans is a scenario of the Weberian theory, except that most blacks have little capital other than the house that they own; personal property, especially residential property, is a major symbol of success. These family members appropriately may be called affluent conformists. (pp. 50-51)

The affluent or middle-class black family is not typical of most black families and was selected to be highlighted in this literature review for primarily that reason. The poor black family is more prevalent in the literature than either the middle-class or working-class black families. The working class has characteristics of stability. Many are moving out of poverty into respectability and emphasize mobility, goal, and purpose. They are committed to raising and maintaining a family of good citizens. This, of course, involves struggle. They are ingenious in their methods of coping, surviving, and

overcoming adversity. By hook or crook, they make it when others say it cannot be done.

Willie (1988) refers to working-class black families as "innovators" (p. 51).

The most important fact about poor black families is their low-income status. Poor black families learn to live with contingency. They hope for little and expect less. Parents love their children but seldom understand them. The parents in broken families sometimes have broken spirits. Movement is constant. Jobs, houses and communities are changed and so are spouses and boyfriends or girlfriends. Some families have as many as eight or more children, while others are smaller. When the burdens of more children, illness, and unemployment strike at the same time, they often are overwhelming. Children are advised not to do this or not to do that. There is admonition but little concrete effort at prevention. The children come first in poor black families. Poor families are rebellious. They reject the society that has rejected them. Little participation in community organizations is seen.

It is hard for poor black families to overcome poverty, so much is lined up against it.

Most poor black families hope for a better day.
But when the hope of the black poor is taken away,
violent rebellion is their method of responding;
it is a costly way of changing things, including
the institution of a repressive society. (Willie,
1988, pp. 57-58)

These profiles of black families representing various classes also provide examples to illustrate that blacks are an intraculturally diverse minority group. That diversity seemingly is based to a degree on economics. This does not mean that money is the only determinant factor for happy and well-adjusted families. Poor families can be well-adjusted and have positive characteristics whereas an affluent family may not get along, and its members may be incompatible. Willie's (1988) findings support this view as the following descriptive excerpts indicate.

It is sad that the gaining of material wealth may leave little time for understanding one's own children. . . . As the children grow up in this affluent black family, it seems that the family spirit is widening instead of coming closer together. Here is a family where the father and mother have several years of school work between [them]. . . . Both have fine jobs, . . . and money is not lacking. Yet harmony and

togetherness is [sic] lacking. . . . It is quite strange that the goals Americans strive for most, education and money, do not in themselves provide happiness. This family is a prime example. (p. 128)

A contrasting profile of a poor but caring family is described.

The family income is below the poverty level. . . . The children never had trouble with the police. . . . [They] have eight adult children. Almost all the offspring live in the neighborhood with their families and [the grandmother] babysits for eight grandchildren everyday while the parents work. . . . This family is obviously very close, and has strong family ties. They make all the decisions together and hardly even quarrel. The spiritual strength and binding family ties of this family have enabled it to face difficulties and the lack of opportunities in their lives. (p. 128)

According to Willie (1988), "no longer may anyone say that a black family is a black family is a black family. Differentiation among blacks is a fact of life that should be described, explained, and understood" (p. 221).

A review of the black family is not complete without reference to the importance of religion. Historically, the black family has continuously been faced with insurmountable obstacles in their lives. The church has served as a major institution for providing an outlet for spiritual and emotional support. It has been the backbone of black community life, furnishing outlets for overcoming poverty, oppression, and discrimination. The church has also provided a forum for the discussion of political and social issues and served as a training ground for potential religious and community leaders such as preachers and teachers.

Life in Black America (Taylor, as cited in Jackson, 1991) recognizes that black families serve as the organizational hub of their communities. Family values, religious beliefs, customs, and experiences are a part of black culture and are routinely transmitted from generation to generation.

Summary

An overview of contemporary American families was presented and described to provide an understanding of the current concerns that are so prevalent in the media regarding the alledged breakdowns of the family and family values. Families from various cultures were included in this review to provide profiles of the major ethnic groups

(Native Americans, Mexican Americans, Chinese Americans, Jewish Americans, and African Americans) in our multi-ethnic, multilingual, and multicultural society. The research findings indicate that each group's initial contact experience tended to influence its current status in society. Another prevalent factor that these groups had in common was the experience of a degree of racial discrimination and inequality in American schools and society. Each group views education as the avenue for achieving success.

The final phase of this review focused on African Americans and their experiences in America since slavery. One important finding from this group is applicable for any group, that is, money and success are not guarantees for family cohesiveness and happiness (Willie, 1988).

Information from this literature review can contribute to the enhancement of intracultural and intercultural relationships in families, schools, and communities for the betterment of America's culturally diverse society. It is predicted that by 2010, more than one-third of America's children will be black, Hispanic, or Asian, and 38% of Americans under age 18 will belong to minority groups. School districts in the nation's largest states will have to adjust to a student body that is more diverse than ever.

Over the next 20 years, children will lead the way toward an even more diverse future. Public schools will . . . have to meet the educational needs of increasingly diverse students. Our children may show us the future even before they become adults. (Schwartz & Exter, as cited in Kromkowski, 1993, p. 101)

Our children are America's future. They need our care!

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This study examines what blacks view as contributing factors to their success or failure in school and society. It has involved observing and interviewing five generations of a black family to learn about the impact of their cultural, social, and academic experiences on their academic and social achievement.

Procedure for Research Study

The procedures for this study involved four stages, which are outlined and described below. The following outline describes the methodology for the study.

1. Interviews (person-to-person, telephone, and mail)
 - a. Open-ended questionnaire (including cover letter for mailing)
 - b. Tape recording
2. Observation (including observation forms)
 - a. Videotaping
 - b. Note taking
3. Oral History
 - a. Key informants

4. Genealogical Charting

- a. Identifying and charting generations
- b. Guide for charting family information

Stage I: Literature Review

This study began by reviewing relevant literature with special care to include qualitative case studies of the sort I proposed to do.

Stage II: Methodology--A Qualitative Approach

This stage involved the collection of data relative to this qualitative study. Interviews with family members were designed to allow them to discuss, describe, and compare their cultural, social, and educational experiences during the eras of segregation, desegregation, and integration from 1893 to the present.

I agree with Goldstein (1971) who states that
It is now permissible for blacks to write of their
own culture and identify with pride, to be biased
in favor of themselves. Sensitivity combined with
folk knowledge and self-knowledge enables black
people to question some scientific findings
designed to prove their infertility or to describe
their innermost life. (p. 4)

Stage III: The Process of Analysis: Coding, Categorization, and Labeling Information

The open-ended questionnaire included an opening statement, inter-questions, and closing remarks. The heading for the questionnaire was "Survey," as advised in research classes. The rationale for this choice was that some people have prejudices against words like questionnaire and checklist (Borg & Gill, 1989).

The primary informants were relatives, friends, and teachers. Their information enabled the investigator to retain a higher degree of objectivity.

The raw data collected from participants from each generation through interviews (questionnaires, tape recordings, oral history) and observations were reviewed and analyzed. This information was coded, categorized, labeled, and charted according to emergent themes or important topics. Data analysis was an ongoing process for me during this family study. As I collected, coded, and recorded information, I also realized that the process of analysis was taking place each step of the way. Fielding questions, listening to responses, and documenting were processes that allowed me to decipher what I heard or observed (I called that process analyzing in a sense) and to categorize the information mentally according to a system I devised. This system simply means that I used post-its in a variety of

colors to identify and categorize information or areas of interest on which I was focusing.

If the area of interest was family, that meant labeling family information with a green post-it (sticker). The color for the category of education was hot pink. Culture was a soft yellow, and social/political information was color-coded bright yellow. These stick-ons were used to identify language (lavender) and other aspects of this study when identifying, labeling, and categorizing information.

When searching the literature, I also used post-its to label information according to the subject area. This system was very useful because I had many, many books in my carrel. A color-coded chart with labeled post-its was placed on the wall as a reminder in case I forgot that green meant family information, and, at times, I did forget. Marshall (1989) suggests that this process of coding and reporting raw data enables the investigator to bring the masses of data into more manageable proportions.

The analytic procedures for this study followed guidelines suggested by Copeland and White (1991), Marshall and Rossman (1989), Miles and Huberman (1984), and Whyte (1984). Blockman and Fry's (1977) suggestions and guidelines were also useful for documenting and charting information about past and present "personal histories."

These writers share their views regarding black family research and its value.

If the search makes you prouder to be black,
prouder to be "you," then it's been successful.
Finding out where you came from just might make it
easier to figure out where you're going. You will
be joining a long legend of blacks all trying to
do the same thing--regain some pride in a history
that so many people have tried to make us forget
or be ashamed of. (p. 9)

Annual family reunions have enabled our family to not only add names and dates of births, weddings, and deaths of relatives but also to learn about new family linkages and extensions of generations that were previously unknown to the majority of the family. Such "new" family knowledge enabled the investigator for this study to expand the search for family data systematically to analyze intergenerational linkages and relationships.

The investigator was the primary data gatherer for this study and studied the data inductively to develop understanding and draw generalizations from the collected data. Detailed note taking for further analysis was an ongoing part of this study.

Stage IV: Final Stage

This stage included writing the research report and conclusions of the study; however, because this study will be an ongoing research process, the final stage is open-ended for supplementary data to be added in the future as family members continue to tell the story regarding the diverse experiences of the Calhoun clan's cultural, social, and educational aspirations and other endeavors.

Goldstein (1971) highlights the importance of blacks writing about their experiences to show appreciation for the life and culture of black people in the United States. He suggests that black writers need to be biased in favor of themselves when writing about their cultures. He contends that his book, Black Life and Culture in the United States, is intended to be a platform for what a number of varied black people who have studied it and lived it have to say about aspects of the black experience.

The population, measuring instruments, and interviewing processes are some of the primary aspects of research. The following sections describe each process for this family study.

Population

Initially, this study was intended to include members of all five generations of the family being studied. Later, it was determined that the study would encompass four

generations because it was not feasible to gather data across the miles or to travel to the many states to interview and spend time with each member of every generation. The fifth generation consists of a small number of children under 10, some of whom I have not met.

The subjects for this family study are first, second, third, and fourth generation family members. The first generation initially included my father and mother, but my father died on March 4, 1995. The second generation includes 12 subjects, six males and six females, including myself and my husband. The third generation includes our six adult children (three males and three females), and the fourth generation includes our 12 grandchildren, six boys and six girls. The number of participants in this study totaled 32 (see Table 2). Fortunately, the number of states to which I had to travel to interview subjects was condensed to three, Oklahoma, Arizona, and California. Another plus for me was that during the interim of the study, my daughter, who is the mother of five of our 12 grandchildren, moved to Tucson, making them all very accessible for this research study.

Survey Instruments (Questionnaires)

In the initial stage of my study, I was interested in researching and analyzing my family history to identify factors that impacted its members during the eras of

Table 2

Hierarchy of Study Participants

Generation	Members
First	2 (patriarch and matriarch)
Second	12 (six males and six females, including the investigator's spouse)
Third	6 (three males and three females)
Fourth	12 (six males and six females)

segregation, desegregation, and integration during the past century. In the meantime, I realized that the study needed to be more inclusive ethnically in order to make it more generally applicable to our nation's multi-ethnic society. Therefore, I included a research-based overview of families from various cultures. For the more in-depth study of my family, two different sets of survey instruments (questionnaires) were developed and utilized to interview two groups of subjects (see Appendices A and E). As required by The University of Arizona's Human Subjects Committee, separate instruments were used for adults and for

children under age eight. In the interviews and questionnaires, I posed open-ended questions, thereby allowing each respondent to expand on the responses when appropriate. Videotaping was another measuring instrument, particularly for observing behavior and interactions. This was an extremely useful tool during annual family reunions. In Methods of Family Research (Miller, 1986), it was determined that

Measures are generally chosen for a combination of four reasons: (1) an existing measure appears to be appropriate to the research questions; (2) an existing measure is well-accepted and will lend credibility to the study by providing reliable anchors for more innovative measures; (3) no existing measure appears to be relevant and so the researcher creates one; and (4) the measure, new or old, fits with the experience, approach, personal tastes of the researcher. (p. 23)

The choices of measures I selected were based on some of these rationales, particularly Item 3, as I created the questionnaires for this study. Tape recording was a useful instrument for documenting during interviews and later data analysis.

Interviewing

The interview process was interesting, challenging, and sometimes frustrating. The latter was often related to sometimes having scheduled interviews and not having them materialize, which can be viewed as "expected" but was still frustrating. A challenging experience was related to having, to a degree, access to so many members of my five-generational family annually and not being able to collect the information that I needed for this study. I devised means such as distributing one-page memoranda with a single question requesting responses regarding the success/failure or strength/weakness of individuals or the family. These were gladly accepted with promises of responses, but too often that was not the case. These kinds of experiences also influenced my decision to limit the sample (subjects) to the 32 participants. Each selected family member was responsive in a timely manner and was, overall, very cooperative. Our interactions were on individual bases and in groups, and observations were ongoing over the past few years since the initial stage of the research process for this dissertation. Even so, I always felt that I needed more information when an interview ended.

Interviews with my parents were very informal. Many times I asked my mother questions while we sat on her porch or in the breakfast room (her favorite places). Her

response to one question could continue for a long time-- sometimes an hour. The tape recorder did not work so note taking (on site) was a part of the data collection process.

My father was in the Veterans' Hospital so interviews with him were ore difficult due to time restraints and finding time to be alone with him. Thirty minutes was usually the extent of our private time together. Data from the second and third generations were gathered primarily through written responses to open-ended questionnaires. Follow-up telephone calls were made to clarify data or to get more information. Notes from observations produced valuable information. The third generation (my children) shared an abundance of information, particularly regarding their educational experiences. I acquired knowledge about them during this study that I would not have learned otherwise. This makes this research experience even more valuable for me. Information from the fourth generation is limited. Their interest, according to survey responses, was in the areas of language, reading, religion, and sometimes school. They did not share much written information on their questionnaires. Surprisingly, telephone conversations revealed information about their personal lives. Usually I was asked not to share such information.

The data-collection process for this study has been in progress for approximately five years. Initial responses

often merited follow-up. The challenging aspect of the data-collection process has been the requests to delete information. In some instances, I have received requests to include family information about someone else. Overall, the sharing has been an interesting experience for me as the investigator and a member of the family. It was an advantage to be an "insider" as the investigator for the study of my five generation family.

Proponents of research methodology for family studies (e.g., Brodkey, 1987; Valentine, 1968) encouraged me to research and analyze my family's history. Valentine argues that researchers "should immerse themselves in the lives of people as directly as possible" (p. 42). He also suggests that researchers become less dependent on images of their subjects communicated by outsiders. It is, in my opinion, an advantage to have access to stories from five living generations of my family.

CHAPTER 4
FOCUS ON THE FAMILY'S NARRATED
RESPONSES AND FINDINGS

Narrated stories from this five-generational study can be viewed as a medium for transmitting family history and culture from generation to generation. My father, a centurion and the patriarch of this family, died recently (March 4, 1995). His death has enhanced my awareness of the need to continue seeking information regarding our family history and to preserve this knowledge so that present and future generations will have access to it. Such information can be accessed to enlighten us about our ancestors and ourselves. A bequest of family continuity is valuable for providing the intergenerational transmission of family continuity. If families are to bequeath continuity to the next generation, and that generation to the next, it is important to create the vision of bequeathing continuity if we are to achieve it (Spanier, 1989).

Striving to achieve in all areas of life can strengthen us individually and collectively as a family. Each generation can help members of other generations by creating an interactiveness within the family that will be strengthening and enlightening for all generations now and

in the future. Such strength and support can be motivating factors as we strive to achieve and to succeed in school and in society. Our individual and collective successes can be valuable legacies to bequeath to future generations.

An important reference for this study is Family Life and School Achievement: Why Poor Black Children Succeed or Fail (Clark, 1983). This author contends that the family is the basic institution through which children learn who they are, where they fit into society, and what kinds of futures they are likely to experience. He suggests that a family's beliefs, activities, and overall cultural style contribute to students' academic success or failure, and a family's ability to equip its youth with survival skills is determined by the parents, older siblings, community relations, and other relationships outside the home.

Clark (1983) studied 10 low-income black families in the Chicago area to analyze factors contributing to their children's success in school. He contrasted and compared the child development strategies used by the parents of five high-achieving students with the strategies used by the parents of five students who were not successful in school.

The case studies of high achieving students indicated the existence of an intergenerational transmission of positive behavior patterns . . . that typifies the parent's upbringing in their

family of origin. Parents in the case studies of the low achieving students had almost nonexistent intimate family support networks. The family members seemed to have been psychologically and emotionally scarred by their life experiences.

(p. 192)

Clark's (1983) ethnographic study focuses on the differences between the families of high achievers and low achievers. The high achievers' families tended to be close-knit and nurturing and promoted high behavioral and academic standards. The families of the low achievers did not provide adequate support or guidance for promoting academic achievement. In several of the low achievers' homes, parents had seemingly given up because they determined "it don't do no good" (p. 192). Clark's view is that the key difference between these families is "parents who build up their offsprings' self-esteem, treat their children and the school with respect, and encourage learning activities, and those parents who do not" (p. 192).

According to Clark's (1983) findings, the quality of life in the low achievers' homes was different from that in the high achievers. He points out that the sharpness of these differences is remarkable considering that all of the families in this study were low-income black families living in the same neighborhood. He concludes that the quality of

life seems to be one of the key factors for promoting and achieving academic success.

Jenkins (as cited in Berry & Asaman, 1989) also argues that "even at the same SES level, families are qualitatively different in the manner in which they function and impact academic achievement" (p. 146). In his article, "The Black Family and Academic Achievement," he suggests that (1) the home and school must work in concert in order to ensure academic achievement, (2) each institution needs to know what the expectations are and the role each plays in meeting them, and (3) incompatibilities between the cultures of the home and school are contributing factors to unsuccessful academic achievement. In his discussion of successful achievement, Jenkins points out that academic achievement appears to be greatly influenced by good parenting skills and positive parental involvement. He illuminates the fact that any implication of the black family and its subsequent role and impact on academic achievement of its members must acknowledge that the family is embedded within a larger social system that often does not enhance blacks' best interests.

The amazing thing about the black family has been its ability to design a family structure that has contributed to the accomplishments and survival of its members despite the social system; that is,

the family has demonstrated an unparalleled resiliency in the face of all the obstacles strewn in its pathway. (Jenkins, as cited in Berry & Asaman, 1989, p. 138)

Black families are like other families in that they want the best for their members--educationally, economically, and socially. Obtaining the best has not been an easy endeavor for most blacks. This can be attributed to unequal opportunities in the American system. Lack of equal opportunity may also contribute to the degree of poverty within the black population in our nation.

Historically, struggling for survival has characterized black families. Today this struggle continues and creates grave concern among blacks for the well-being of present and future generations.

Engram's (1982) study provides an analysis of family theories as applied to the status of blacks in American society. She discusses the demographic status of black families, their mating patterns, marriage, unwed motherhood, and marital disruption from a black perspective. Engram gives the following description of her study.

The primary purpose of this work is to assess the validity of the most salient propositions in the field of family study regarding the Afro-American family in the United States; to examine the

relationship of the propositions to emerging perspectives in the field and to assess the quality of research that the propositions have guaranteed. Only by doing this assessment of the research does one get a sense of what is really known about the black family. (p. 3)

Engram (1982) emphasizes the need for blacks to reiterate that "our own ties to our own families stimulate our interest in devising principles to be used in successive successful generations" (p. 3). She highlights the importance of generational family-connectedness by including the following dedication in her book, Science, Myth, Reality: The Black Family in One-Half Century of Research, "To future black families who will find, when confronted with the contradictions of the present, sustaining values from the past" (p. v).

In related research, Price (1982) addresses the issue of obstacles blacks have traditionally faced as a minority group in the United States. Her work is based on an existential psychology theory as it relates to the black experience.

Existentialism is a philosophy that a protest against the dehumanization of the individual. Existentialists do not view the individual as a passive victim of unconscious focus of learned

habits. Everyone has potentialities. One's basic task is to develop this potential. . . . When existential themes are applied to education there is an emphasis placed upon the consciousness, feelings, moods, and the experiences of the individual. (pp. 2, 8)

The emotions and experiences of individuals can impact their educational processes, thus helping to determine whether they succeed or fail in school and society.

Price (1982) views existentialism as a viable field of study. She recommends exploring the possibility of applying such an orientation to the black experience based on the existentialists's philosophy of liberation and respect for the individual, emphasis on freedom of choice, assuming responsibility for one's life, and fostering a positive self-concept.

I relate to Price's (1982) views regarding existentialism as a philosophy for improving the status of blacks in American society because this philosophic view is based upon belief in liberation and utter respect for the individual. Existentialism recognizes that everyone has certain potentialities, and each is continuously in the process of evolving and becoming and is, therefore, constantly facing possibilities for growth. In the

introduction to her book, Price included a personal perspective.

In addition to the values of an existential point of view for blacks, I believe that a society based on existential principles would rid the system of the ills of contemporary times. Due to a strong concern for equality, existentialism would probably promote a society with little or no discrimination toward any subgroup. Persons in an existential society would be afforded an opportunity to create meaningful values and encouraged to fight against dehumanizing conditions. (p. 6)

Price's (1982) study includes an educational model founded on existential principles. The model includes activities for educators and students. The workshops consist of activities which are designed to provide "a humane educational approach and to facilitate positive, effective behavioral and cognitive development of black students" (p. 133).

It is encouraging to note that more black writers are sharing their personal experiences through autobiographical writing. Taulbert (1989) wrote about one of his boyhood experiences in his aunt's "tattered" home, wallpapered from Sears catalogues, where she gave him a valuable document--a

deed signed by his great-great-grandfather. He shared the fact that the discovery of the deed affected his life oddly because he had been taught to respect the white owners of plantations and now felt cheated.

The realization that I was the descendant of black plantation owners gave me a sudden sense of pride. The land which should have been my birthright had been lost, sold at a tax auction for money they'd never known they owed. I'd grown up during the fifties under a system of segregation which enforced on all people of my race an inferior status--a sense of worthlessness which was wholly illegitimate, but which I had striven all my life to overcome. . . . I have written Once Upon a Time When We Were Colored because I want my children to know of the lifestyle that gave them their father and mother. It is very difficult to master the present and make a meaningful contribution to the future unless you understand and appreciate the past. (pp. 4-6)

I include Taulbert's (1989) book in this review because so many of his experiences are similar to mine. For example, during the Depression years of the 1930s, the walls of our home were wallpapered with newspaper. Taulbert and I both experienced living under the system of segregation.

Most importantly, he, too, values his background and experiences. He states, and I agree, that "in our desire as black Americans to put segregation behind us, we have put ourselves in danger of forgetting our past--the good with the bad" (p. 6). I would like to reiterate that to forget our past is to forget ourselves, who we are and where we have come from. The following "narrated" stories describe where we, the members of the family presented in this study, "come from."

Second-Generation Family Members' Stories

The narrated stories from the second generation illustrate how intertwined the different generations in this family are. Their narrated stories are a compilation of what I view as their "voices." I am honored to have the privilege to be the narrating investigator for each member of this generation, of which I, too, am a member.

Eldest Son

My schooling began in 1931 at age 9. I don't know why I started school so late. I think I spent a lot of time in the country with my grandparents. I loved them very much, but my dad did not like my grandfather--my mother's dad. Somehow I went to the 11th grade. I went to the CC Corps (Civil Conservation) when I was a

teenager. I joined so that I could send money home to help my family. My dad was sick a lot and could not always work. I have a lot of bitterness about my past--the hard times. I am glad it was better for my brothers and sisters. I am the oldest of thirteen children.

Segregated schools were wrong--God created all men equal. I learned to read and write under Mrs. Clark in the first grade. Dr. Clark, her husband, delivered all of us. She made us speak correctly, so I guess I speak standard and black English. Poverty and segregation interrupted my education. I am glad my oldest son went through school. He and his wife are lawyers in Los Angeles. My granddaughter is in law school now.

I moved from Los Angeles back to Wynnewood when my brother was killed in an automobile accident in 1969. I am retired and take care of my dad and help my mother who is still strong and active at age 90. She has always looked after everybody.

Clayton Calhoun,
Divorced parent of two
sons and a daughter and a
retired city employee

Second Son

I returned to high school and attended college after World War II. I studied under the G.I. Bill. My major was math. I left school when I was a junior in college. When I took an early retirement during the 1970s , I returned to school and obtained a degree in human services. I wanted to help people.

On the issue of segregation, I believe that living in a very closed and segregated society really affected me at every stage of growth and development. As for language, I speak black dialect, but I prefer to have my son and grandchildren speak standard English, and they do because they were born and reared in Iowa. There is a difference in northern and southern blacks' speech.

My family is from Oklahoma. We lived under segregation where there was no effort to treat all groups equally. As a young man raised in an ascribed society, I was unable to achieve many of my goals. I developed deviant behavior and drifted from religious training. Fortunately, my younger siblings seemed to follow the pattern of my sister, the oldest girl. She was motivated to

achieve as a young girl because of having to pick cotton. There is a process of "role modeling" among my sisters. She was always an excellent role model.

Traditionally, it is believed that men are intellectually superior to women. Common sense tells me that's a myth. I believe that society's norms affected my educational experiences. At an early age I was socialized to accept and fulfill my ascribed role, and I did.

Religion is an important part of my life now, and I believe that even in a capitalistic and racist society there is social mobility if a person has what it takes to get ahead. Today people are ranked, more equally, according to ability and performance. American society is becoming more "open" now.

Tom Calhoun,
Married parent of one son
and retired postal
employee and social
services volunteer

Eldest Daughter

As a young girl, I was motivated to stay in school by the limited occupations offered in my community--to pick cotton or do domestic work. I was encouraged and influenced by my parents,

teachers, and my principal in particular. My background and experiences enabled me to obtain the first degree in my family.

The system of segregation deprived me of many educational advantages and experiences due to lack of adequate school facilities, up-to-date textbooks, typewriters, and typing teachers.

I was motivated to learn to read because when my brother, Tom, read the comics to me, I realized that he read absolutely too long for all that information to be printed in comic strips. I became suspicious and decided to learn to read for myself. I couldn't trust him for accuracy.

I speak standard English and prefer to have my son and grandson do likewise. Standard English seems to be the norm in our nation's mainstream society. It seems necessary to cope in the world, and one should have the ability to comply but to speak dialect, too, if one chooses. Most blacks do speak some dialect.

Testing is a problem for many blacks because the system does not consider that our backgrounds and cultural experiences are different, and we are virtually excluded from texts. Information about our culture is limited if not totally nonexistent.

There are not sufficient images for black children to relate to. Tests have always been biased. Recently changes have been made that will possibly help improve testing strategies and test scores.

As long as I can remember, I wanted to acquire an education in order to be self-sufficient. Not only would I have a better life, but I would be able to help others. I am the oldest daughter in a family of 13. I felt that if I became "educated" I could motivate the younger siblings to do likewise.

My parents, especially my mother, have always been a strong influence in my life. They taught me religious values, to love myself so that I could love and understand others. They emphasized the importance of education but also stressed that it is important to be true to myself and strive to become the best person I could become no matter what I chose to do, careerwise, in life.

Lorraine Calhoun Wagner
Parent of one son and
retired teacher

Second Daughter

Religious upbringing is the foundation for my life's principles. I entered school in 1934 at age 5 and continued through college in an all-

black university (Langston) in Oklahoma. I was motivated to seek a higher education because of my love for books and a lot of moral support from parents, teachers, and employers (people I worked for when I was in high school and college).

My reading and writing skills were learned and developed in first grade. I have always loved reading and read independently at an early age. Family life influenced my educational process in odd ways. One learning tool was "reading the wall." In our home newspapers were used for wallpaper. This was one of my reading incentives when I was a little girl. My siblings and I played reading games which helped to improve my reading skills. Not having money to buy wallpaper was an economic disadvantage that became an educational advantage for reading and language arts.

When I began teaching, I realized how much my past experience with teaching siblings (homework, etc.) helped give me confidence as a classroom teacher. I was the first graduate to return to our high school to teach. This experience included teaching my younger brothers and sisters.

Their cooperation and respect confirmed that I was a capable teacher and disciplinarian.

Two special people in our community were our doctor (the only black doctor for a 100-mile radius) and his wife. He delivered each child in our family, and she was our first grade teacher. When I returned to work at my high school, she introduced me during assembly as "Miss Calhoun, our new teacher." What a thrill!

Abilene Calhoun Matthews
Parent of one son and
retired teacher

Third Son

I dropped out of high school during my junior year so my formal education was interrupted too soon due to my bullheadedness. I speak both standard and black English but prefer to have my offspring speak standard English. I have been negatively affected by stereotypical language. It refers to blacks as being low and less than human.

Christianity has enhanced my life in the areas of character, love, respect for others, and how to live with myself. It has also enabled me

to be self-sufficient despite my limited formal education.

John Calhoun, Jr.
Married parent of five
children and retired
businessman (auto
maintenance)

Fourth Son

My motivation for seeking a college education was based on the desire to become rich. That was always my dream. I believed that to be successful one had to be rich. I did not accept being poor even though that was the reality of my childhood.

When I was in the 11th grade, my education was interrupted. Times were hard. I had a serious disagreement with my father, so I left home and went to work in the city. I did return to graduate with my class in 1951. It was important to me to finish high school. I attended college for one year. At the same time I was working full time. I completed one year at the university and got married.

Because I did not like being poor I was motivated to work hard and learn (through trial and error) the clothing business. I did extremely well, and my efforts paid off financially. In fact my dream came true, and I became rich--Rolls

Royces, property, etc. My lifestyle changed completely. The important thing was that I was able to help my family.

During the period of experiencing such success, my parents were questioning some of my activities. I did not relate to their concern for me. Again my lifestyle changed, and I began to realize that certain values are more important than wealth, especially religious values. I live a quiet lifestyle now. I must admit that I regret dropping out of college. None of my exciting experiences or successes compensates for that loss.

Bryce Calhoun
Married parent of three
children and retired
businessman (clothing)

Fourth Daughter

I learned to read and write by matching pictures with words. I think that was called sight reading. My family influenced my educational process because they always encouraged me to succeed in school and in my daily living.

Attending an all black segregated school enabled me to appreciate black culture and its customs. Socially (as a child) I only associated

with people of my own race. My teachers were black and excellent role models in our community.

Historically, blacks were not allowed to be a part of mainstream America. We were not considered a people socially acceptable to society. Therefore my college experiences in an integrated setting made me feel that I had to present myself in an acceptable manner to dispel the myth about black inferiority which stems from slavery and segregation. I was motivated to return to college after I dropped out to get married because I wanted to become more knowledgeable and increase my earning power. My sister (the investigator) and brother-in-law also influenced me because they had managed to combine pursuing an education and raising a family. I felt that I could do the same, although I was a single parent with five children. Another experience that influenced me was working as an aide in an elementary school and having to assume some of the same responsibilities as the teacher.

I made drastic changes in order to return to school. I gave up my home and moved into student housing at UCLA. My children were transferred to

schools in that area. I was determined, and at the end of my first year I was on the dean's list.

During my junior year, I had two major surgeries (another interruption), but I did return to school and get my degree.

Erma Calhoun Brown
Divorced parent of five
children and YWCA
administrator

Fifth Daughter

My education was affected negatively when the schools were integrated in Oklahoma. The transfer to the white's school was a traumatic experience. Integration impacted my growth and development negatively in every respect. The teachers and students did not want the black kids in "their" school. We were automatically viewed as being dumb. My mother was always at the school checking on us. We were all (blacks and whites) miserable in our community. The Board of Education fired all the black teachers, no matter how qualified they were. All the black teachers were credentialed, and many had advanced degrees.

I dropped out of high school. That was a no-no, especially for girls, in our family. I

returned, graduated, and attended college for a year.

Miami Calhoun Flowers
Married parent of eight
children

Youngest Daughter

My sisters taught me the ABCs, and I learned to read in first grade. I have always tightened up when I hear the word test. Testing is an area that I need to work on. I need to take a vocabulary-building class. Maybe taking tests "for fun" would help me.

I watched four older sisters complete college and decided that I should at least receive an AA degree. My mother always encouraged me to get a better education.

During the 1950s, our schools were integrated, and I dropped out of school in the 11th grade. Integration affected me negatively because I felt lost when I was thrown into an all-white school environment. I was used to black teachers, and not one was hired. I could not study or socialize comfortably. The white teachers did not know how to cope with integration, and neither did our parents. I believe that my older siblings would have coped

with integration better than we did. They were stronger and more determined.

One of my older brothers organized a group of black boys, and they went to the superintendent and asked for permission to practice basketball in the gym at the white school on the days that it was not being used. The superintendent was indignant and angry. He called our principal who also became angry and threatened to expel the boys. He did not. Our parents said the kids were only trying to make their lives better and that no harm was done. My point is that my older siblings would stand up for what they believed in. That's how they survived segregation.

Norma Calhoun Taylor
Married parent of six
children

Youngest Son

My motivation to achieve in school stemmed from being surrounded by so many brothers and sisters who were always involved in school activities. In our town not much was happening besides church school activities. I wanted to do well and be recognized and receive awards for my efforts. That was the trend in my family. There were stories that people used to ask if all those

Calhouns belonged to one family when our name was called so many times at school events.

It was almost mandatory that I achieve. I was the youngest of 13 and named after Dr. M. A. Clark because he delivered all of us and asked my parents to name me after him. Later I changed my name to Jerry. M. A. (Marion Albert) was too heavy a load for me to bear.

When I was born, many of my siblings were adults. Three of them were in college and very embarrassed when they knew mom was pregnant at age 45. Their attitudes changed when I was born.

I attended a segregated school through 4th or 5th grade, and then our schools were integrated. I moved to Los Angeles after 6th grade. My mother lived there until I completed high school. Everyone planned my future for me. That included going to college and maybe becoming a doctor as a tribute to my namesake--Dr. M. A.

After high school I got married. I was barely 18 years old. My parents initially refused to sign the papers for me to marry but eventually changed their minds and consented. Most of my life I have worked for my brothers in their different businesses. My oldest brother's son and

I went through high school together. I was younger but still his uncle. I didn't continue my education, but he became an attorney. I am proud of him and my older brothers and sisters, too. I regret that I did not seek a higher education.

Jerry Calhoun
Married parent of four
children

Conclusions

There is a long history of survey research that concludes that black low-income families have high aspirations for their children and view education as a means to that end. Black parents have been convinced by their experiences that their children's chances for achieving success will be determined by educational achievements. The goal of most black parents is to have their children "do better' than they have done.

Clark's (1983) book, Family Life and School Achievement: Why Poor Black Children Succeed or Fail, suggests that it is the family's beliefs, activities, and overall cultural style that contribute to students' academic success or failure. This author contends that the family is the basic institution through which children learn who they are, where they fit into society, and what kinds of futures they are likely to experience. It is my opinion that today's experiences are interrelated with our past

experiences, and the correlation of the two can contribute to individual success or failure in the future.

Reflections of a Family

Introduction

The purpose of this phase of the study is to analyze and describe the experiences of a third-generation black family during the processes of desegregation and integration in the Los Angeles City Schools from the 1950s through the 1980s.

The family includes the parents (my husband and me), who are second generationers, and our six adult children, three females and three males from the third generation. My husband and I are products of the era of segregation. Our children did not experience legal segregation, but it has been an integral part of their lives nonetheless. During their lifetime the systems of desegregation have been viewed as the norm in our nation. An analysis and description of their experiences in segregated and integrated schools will be the focus of this phase of the study.

The 1954 Supreme Court decision in Brown v. Board of Education was viewed as an accomplishment intended to end segregation in the public schools in the United States. Desegregation and integration were viewed as being possible solutions to the problematic and unjust system of

segregation which supported separate but equal education. Have these three processes eliminated segregation and resolved the many multifaceted race-related issues in our schools? Personal experiences and research data mandate that I respond with a resounding "No." Bell's (1980) response, more than a decade ago, is also appropriate today. He responded to the question with more questions.

The Supreme Court Justices had spoken the word and the word seemed good. But how was the message going to be translated into the realities and lives of teachers and children in schools? Black and white bodies could be moved into the same schools. Children could experience greater physical proximity. Did any of this have anything to do with increasing reading scores, quality education, or greater self-esteem for young children?

Despite the positive aspects of the Brown v. Board of Education Supreme Court ruling, quality education has not become a reality for most minority students. The decade of the 1990s finds our educational system continuing to strive to resolve the problematic issues relating to racial inequality in education. Equity in education is a challenge facing our nation that has not been met despite the 1954 Supreme Court decision and the development and

implementation of innovative programs for four decades thereafter.

As recently as approximately 10 years ago, England and Morgan (1986) summarized that there were well over 1,000 articles, books, and circulated papers which presented some form of empirical evidence on school desegregation. This mass of information has its merits, but it is my opinion that the voices of students and others who actually experienced living through the positive and negative aspects of the processes of segregation, desegregation, and integration on a daily basis have not been heard and adhered to.

One important reference is Shades of Brown: New Perspectives on School Desegregation. This book presents seven authors' individual perspectives on school desegregation. It offers insights regarding the advantages and disadvantages of integration. The writers see the integration goal as worthy of continued pursuit but urge more attention to quality schooling for black children. Some contributors stated that they were not hostile to the integration concept but see racial balance remedies as providing little of value and, when provided, posing more than significant obstacles to the effective schooling of poor, nonwhite children.

In tracing the variety of definitions school integration has held over the years, one writer warns that the role of public education is limited and that to the extent that education is intended to assimilate blacks into American culture, it will prove, like segregation, simply another mechanism for subordinating blacks in the predominantly white society.

Segregation, Desegregation, and
Integration: A Historical Perspective

The systems of segregation, desegregation, and integration are interrelated and operationally paradoxical inasmuch as they overlap and coexist. Webster's Dictionary (1991) defines paradoxical as being "the nature of a paradox . . . inclined to paradoxes." Paradox is defined as "a statement or sentiment that is seemingly contradictory or opposed to common sense and yet perhaps true in fact . . . something (as a human being, phenomenon, state of affairs or action) with seemingly contradictory qualities" (p. 147).

Paradoxically, the definitions for the terms segregation, desegregation, and integration have shifted significantly during the past four decades. In the early 1950s, the general understanding of the meaning of segregation was the separation of the black and white races. Segregation in schools was a Supreme- Court-imposed policy separating children solely on the basis of race. It

purported to provide separate but equal education for blacks in the United States.

The Brown v. Board of Education case (1954) was a way to legally end segregation as it was defined. Later, the law changed to desegregate schools, supposedly to allow students to be educated under a system of integration. Desegregation meant the elimination of racial distinctions in the law. Integration was viewed as an ideological doctrine for ending discrimination based on race in American society. Each term can be viewed as being interchangeable and, therefore, paradoxical due to this fact. The premise for legally abolishing segregation was disastrous to blacks, and racial distinctions as barriers, for whatever reasons, were not only unconstitutional but unreasonable. The distinctions continued to be prevalent as barriers to equal opportunities for blacks during the desegregation process, and they continue to exist for the same reasons today. Kirp (1983) suggests that integration

starts with a racial mixing, but implies a great deal more. Ideally, it contemplates an environment in which students from diverse backgrounds with different expectations and needs from schools can benefit from an educational experience; it demands an understanding of diversity as a resource, not a disadvantage to be

overcome. Small wonder, then, that integration is a very delicate, very difficult--and very vulnerable--enterprise (pp. 21-22).

Integration and equal opportunities are still challenging goals in the decade of the 90s. The continuous problems in the nation's schools and the work force are insurmountable. The promise of equal opportunities for all people has not become a reality in America. It is still a dream being pursued.

Survey Responses

Study Investigator.

I was four years old when I entered school. I began at the primer level. We did not have kindergarten at school in 1938. I learned to read in first grade. Reading is my favorite activity today. My educational experiences have been ongoing since I began my formal educational pursuit in the primer. I am a student again as a senior citizen.

My educational process was interrupted when my parents divorced. I had just completed my freshman year at the university and was told that I would have to transfer to Los Angeles and live with my sister and her family in order to continue in school.

I attended Los Angeles City College for one year. I did not return to school until approximately fifteen years--and five children--later. I received bachelors and masters degrees from the University of Southern California. For approximately ten years I was a secondary teacher. I was a victim of violence in the classroom in inner-city Los Angeles. I finally, regretfully, resigned from teaching in 1982.

When we moved from Santa Barbara to Tucson, I decided to return to school and pursue a Ph.D. My goal is to complete my studies by 1995. My doctorate will be my legacy to my grandchildren.

Martha Battiest,
Married parent of six
children and retired
teacher

Spouse of Study Investigator.

The "separate but equal" doctrine was the basis for the system of segregation in Arkansas where I was born and attended school through the sixth grade. My family lived on a plantation. My wife had not known anyone from a plantation before she met me. Under segregation my growth and development were negatively impacted culturally,

socially, and academically. It was a degrading and debilitating way to live.

Our schools were dilapidated, with inadequate equipment and supplies. We were given whatever the whites did not need or want for their schools. Our teachers accepted whatever came to them and tried to teach and inspire the students to learn.

What stands out most in my mind is the overall condition of the black people on that plantation. I have seen strong black men beaten by other black males (as ordered by their overseers). That does something to the psyche that is difficult to overcome.

Another incident was related to school. The black children lived further away from school than the whites, but we walked and they rode the bus. That was difficult to handle, especially when it rained and snowed. To make matters worse, they called us names when they passed each day. One day I retaliated by throwing a rock and hitting a student. I was in serious trouble. My mother decided that it was time for me to leave the South to avoid getting into trouble with the law. I went to Illinois to live with my dad.

The school there automatically placed me in a lower grade because I was from the South. I worked to move up. The studying paid off because I was placed in the appropriate class. When I reached ninth grade, my dad decided that I should leave school and go to work. His philosophy was that an eighth-grade education was sufficient for a black male. Later, I put my age up and went into the Air Force where I passed my GED and received a dental technician certificate.

I do not remember how I learned to read and write. My early education was positively influenced by my mother's encouragement and nurturing. Although we were poverty stricken, she talked about the advantages of going to college and getting an education. It still amazes me that she could be so optimistic. My mother always thought I was "smart." She believed in my ability when I doubted myself. She is proud of my degrees but even more pleased that I am a minister.

The social and cultural factors that influenced my educational experiences were basically related to the system of segregation. I could see the difference in the lifestyles of the haves and have nots. Whites were educated, but

blacks were not. Whites controlled the economic, political, and educational systems. That has not changed. We did the work but were viewed as being lazy and ignorant.

Despite those circumstances, my mother constantly reminded me that education was the key to a better way of living. I have always enjoyed reading and learning more about the world. Tests are a problem for me and have been for as long as I can remember. I can do the academic work, but I don't do well on tests. My limited educational background has been a disadvantage. I believe that sheer determination is what enabled me to go through college.

Stereotypical language was the norm during my childhood. It amazed me to learn that it was blatantly used in the Air Force when I arrived there. I have always questioned the use of such language. I remember being ordered out of a restaurant in Texas and being called n----- boy. I was surprised and hurt, but I did not get angry. I pitied the person for being so stupid.

When I became a parent, I was determined to offer better opportunities for my children than I had. We sent each of them to college, but two did

not stay. Our oldest son says that he regrets that he dropped out. At this point, I am happy that he is a self-supporting and seemingly well-adjusted young man. Our daughter has five children and takes classes sometimes.

It was painful to experience the desegregation and integration processes in Los Angeles. We survived, and our children contend that their experiences as students have helped them to guide and support their children, who are now sometimes faced with inequality in education. Each generation must do the same for the next generation so that they will be able to "do better" in school and society.

William Battiest,
Married parent of six
children and minister/
retired teacher

Eldest Daughter.

When I was born, my dad was a student in Mexico City at the Mexico City College. My mother did not want me to be born outside the United States, so she went to Oklahoma, and I was born there. I have often questioned the wisdom of her decision. We returned to Mexico City when I was five weeks old and lived there until I was two. I

have not returned to Mexico. I moved from Los Angeles to Oklahoma City after my divorce.

Now that I am an adult and the single parent of three children, I realize the value of having had solid family and community relationships during my childhood. Some of the best aspects of my life have been school-related activities. Fortunately, I lived in one community, attending the same schools from first grade through high school (only changing at the junior/senior high levels), and my best friends today are the same ones I have known since elementary school. Most important is the fact that my home life was intact--with one set of parents. I took all of the above for granted during my growing-up years.

As a young girl, I was motivated to go to school each day because there were always many exciting things going on there. I am the oldest of six children, and because I began school first, friends were always very important to me. Later, my siblings joined me in elementary school, but we were not in the same classes. Later they changed schools due to the changing conditions in our community schools. They left the school district at the junior high level.

I loved school and have always had the desire to learn. I was motivated and influenced by my parents in most aspects of my life for as long as I can remember. They returned to school when I was a teenager. I was so proud when they received their degrees and teaching credentials.

Martin Luther King influenced me during the sixties. He gave African Americans encouragement to pursue their dreams. I always felt the financial pressures from being black, seeing my parents praying and working hard to enable their children to get a good education.

My mother and father grew up under the legal system of segregation in Oklahoma and Arkansas, respectively. I realize that my schooling was in predominantly segregated schools through high school graduation. At the elementary and junior high levels, members of the teaching staffs were from different ethnic groups--with the exception of principals, who were Anglo. I did not attend a school with a black principal until I reached high school--after the Los Angeles riots.

Segregation and integration were not consciously major issues in my school life, but I know that I was cheated out of a quality education

because the inner-city schools in Los Angeles were basically segregated. Segregation enhanced my cultural and social life.

After my siblings transferred to schools in the West Hollywood and West Los Angeles areas, I became curious about the schools and participated in an experimental busing program for summer sessions. It was an interesting experience. The school, Fairfax High, was in a predominantly Jewish area and was rated very highly academically. A few carefully selected black students attended school there. My parents and siblings encouraged me to attend summer school there because I had announced that I was going to leave the Los Angeles area for college. They were concerned about culture shock for me in a predominantly white environment. Each summer I would attend different schools throughout Los Angeles. I enjoyed the experiences and encouraged my parents to keep my siblings in those areas for their education. They could not handle the inner-city school environment.

Testing has always been a weak aspect of my education, particularly in reading and math. I do not understand how I accomplished so many things

in school--average and above-average grades, editorial editor of my school paper, played the piano (private lessons) and the clarinet in the school orchestras until I went to college, and was president of the orchestra. I was on the drill team and participated in other club and school activities.

My speech pattern is a mixture of standard and black English. I tell my children that as long as American society measures your worth according to standard spoken and written language, one needs to be able to meet that "standard" English challenge. I took a black dialect class in college and received an A. It was fun, but standard English appears to be the norm in U.S. society.

It seems that attitudes about standard English are changing at the higher education level. Last semester I began taking classes again and realize that the browning of America and multicultural education are influencing educators' attitudes about minority speech. We are being asked why we get so uptight about standard versus black English. These attitudinal changes are encouraging signals regarding the awareness of and

sensitivity toward subcultural groups despite the overall racist climate in our society.

Survey question number 14 asked if my education was interrupted. The answer is no. It was not interrupted throughout college. During the early 1970s, some black students became frustrated and dropped out of college. I attended school in Washington, and some of my Los Angeles friends went there too. They did not handle the transition from an all-black school to a predominantly white school. Two months after arriving there, I was selected to compete for the title of Homecoming Queen. Several of my black friends said that I was a pawn for tokenism since another black female had competed and lost the previous year. I chose to take the challenge, won, and, in 1972, was the first freshman and the first black to become Eastern Washington State's Homecoming Queen. That was a proud moment. My real accomplishment was receiving a B.A. in psychology four years later. That's what I went to Eastern Washington State for.

Beverly Battiest Nawonka,
Divorced parent of three
children

Second Daughter.

I entered kindergarten in 1959 and experienced integration for the first time during the late 1960s. I attended integrated schools throughout my high school and college years during the early 1970s. Three decades of my educational experiences in the Los Angeles City School System merit a detailed description of each decade as it relates to culture, education, and integration.

During the year of my birth (1954), the United States Supreme Court's Brown v. Board of Education ruling ordered desegregation in our nation's public schools. My early childhood experiences were based in my immediate community. We lived in West Los Angeles.

Upon reflection, I question what was happening in the Los Angeles Schools that created such difficulties as black parents pursued avenues for quality education for their children. Our highest court had mandated that all students, regardless of race, creed, or color, would be educated in an integrated system. Segregation was outlawed.

My educational processes were influenced by the tenacity of my parents. Despite the

desegregation law, they had to strive diligently to provide an education for us. During the 1960s, three of us transferred from our community schools because they were determined that segregation and bias would not deprive their children of quality education. We attended junior and senior high school in West Hollywood, using the public transportation system to commute there. Los Angeles had a PWT (Permits with Transportation) program, but there were not enough participating students in our neighborhood to qualify for the program.

Transferring out of our immediate community transformed my life because I learned about both ethnic diversity and economic differences and how they impact one's cultural, social, and educational experiences. I learned that I could blend very well into the new school's "salad bowl" environment.

Students came from middle and upper middle class families. The school's population was very diverse--predominantly Jewish, Anglo, Anglo and black (students of mixed ethnicity), blacks, and a few Asians and Mexicans. Besides the ethnically diverse student body, it became obvious to me that

some folks live better than others, depending on their occupations and incomes. My home school community was homogeneous--mostly black and working class people. Being a student in West Hollywood enabled me to see that your ethnicity and race helped determine where you lived. My new school included students with parents who were professionals--doctors, lawyers, and engineers--and many (especially the blacks) were from the recording and movie industries. The Jackson 5's and Billy D. Williams' children attended those schools. There were also blue collar workers' children in those schools. My classmates were mostly from this latter group.

Upon reflection, I believe that my placement was determined by my test scores and the tracking system. I do not test well, but I have always been able to do the assigned class work. One of my teachers called my mother and suggested that she get me out of his class because it was below my academic ability level. I was there because I had not scored well on my entrance exams. My parents had problems with the counseling staff, but I was transferred to a better class.

My reading and writing skills were developed both in school and by playing school with my siblings. I was always the teacher. Later my siblings told me that they allowed me to teach not because I was smarter, but bossier. Some of my classroom teachers were also viewed as good teachers because they were strict disciplinarians --especially in the inner-city schools. I learned those teaching tactics at an early age. I did not adapt well to that environment and was a better-adjusted student in an educational environment where discipline and behavior were not the major issues in the classroom.

I had a different kind of experience at the junior high level with a program called the Home Telephone Program. When I was thirteen years old, I had surgery for scoliosis, and a steel rod was placed in my back to straighten my spine. I was unable to walk or feed myself for six months. The doctor's prognosis was that I would be unable to attend school for a year, so I was placed in the Home Telephone Teaching Program. My teacher called daily to teach me--if I felt well. Otherwise, my parents and older siblings helped me with my school work. It was an interesting

experience, but I was anxious to return to school. At the end of one semester (not a year), I returned to the regular classroom--cast and all.

During my second year in high school, I returned to my community school. I wanted to be with my older sister and other black students from our area. I remained there for a semester. The school environment was too negative. I was overwhelmed by the class disruptions and the behavior of some of the teachers and students. One day a teacher was chased off campus by some students. After that incident, I returned to West Hollywood.

The Los Angeles schools were in turmoil because most whites had taken flight, but many were still administrators and teachers in our predominantly black schools. The system's desegregation process did not address the issue of staffing to meet the changing needs of the schools. The first black secondary school principal was hired in Los Angeles approximately fifteen years after segregation was outlawed in our nation.

In some ways, the varied experiences throughout my elementary and secondary school

years made my transfer to higher education a smoother transition. I attended a large state university in California--UCSD--and my education there was interrupted after my second year. I fell in love with the university's star basketball player, had our first child, married, and traveled to Europe with him when he became a professional. We lived in France during the regular season and returned to the United States (New York and Los Angeles) for the summer each year. Our second child was born in France.

We lived well. I was a model in Paris, while my husband travelled throughout the world. We had access to an excellent expense account. At that time we did not realize that not completing our formal education was an impediment to our lives. We did study the French language while living in France. I plan to take my daughter back some day.

After four children and a divorce, the reality of my situation hit me. I have remarried and now have five children. My husband is from Nigeria. My lifestyle has changed drastically. We live in Georgia where I am finally getting a sense of what "Roots," the movie, was all about. The environment is different from Los Angeles, New

York, or Europe. The pace is slower. I like the black culture in Georgia. My children are in good schools. I am glad that I moved them from the Los Angeles Valley schools.

Ironically, the Valley schools are where most black students from Los Angeles are bused. We lived in the Valley area, and yet school staffers were always trying to put my children on the bus (PWT) at the end of the school day--simply because they were black. The children in the Valley schools were not really integrated nor were the bused kids accepted in the schools. As I reflect, I realize in the 1990s I am striving to provide quality education for my children just as my parents did for me, and it is a continuous and frustrating process. The dream of a good education for their children is the pursuit of most black parents. Each generation wants the next generation to "do better," as my 90-year-old grandmother says. That is the American dream for the majority of black parents today as it has been in the past. We want the dream to become a

reality for our children as they seek success in school and society.

Deborah Battiest Okojee,
Married parent of five
and part-time student

Eldest Son.

Los Angeles, California, is my home. I was born here in 1958, and I have only left the state twice. When I was twelve, we visited my grandmother in Tennessee, and at the age of twenty-eight, I spent Thanksgiving with my parents in Tucson, Arizona. I do not like change or making transitions.

My cultural, social, and educational experiences contribute to my attitude about making transitions. The year that I entered kindergarten, the Los Angeles schools' rule about a student's age to attend kindergarten changed, and I only spent one semester at that level. At the fifth-grade level, the Los Angeles School System adopted the annual promotion plan, and I was in the fifth grade for one semester. After graduation from high school, I was programmed (by my parents) to attend one of the largest colleges in California (San Diego State). For years I was resentful about being pushed through the

educational system. I retaliated by completing one year of college and then dropping out when I was eighteen. My formal education was not only interrupted, but ended.

The interval between the push from fifth to sixth grade and from high school to college were my junior and senior high school years. I attended the schools in my community until I reached eighth grade. All of us (five siblings) attended the same elementary school. When I transferred to junior high, my two older sisters were eighth and ninth graders at my school. My oldest sister graduated from elementary, junior, and senior high schools in our community. My parents planned for each of us to do likewise. That did not happen.

The rest of us were not able to continue attending our neighborhood schools. We transferred out of our district because of the violence and other problems in the schools. Our decision to leave the neighborhood schools was a good one. The new school was better, and I made a lot of new friends.

Ironically, the neighborhood kids became hostile toward us, and we were subjected to a lot

of harassment. We were called the "Black Brady Bunch." That was very humiliating, particularly for me because the hecklers were my male peers.

Many of them did not attend school in the immediate neighborhood but in communities nearby. I had my first and only fight about going to school in West Hollywood. Some boys waited for me after school one day, and one of them hit me. I had to fight back. When my parents found out, I was surprised that they understood. My mom explained about intracultural conflict. I didn't understand then or now.

Evidently my parents understand these things about culture because they lived through legal segregation, desegregation, and integration and have a lot of insight about each era. Being married a long time and having many children must help too. I am still single.

When I was in junior high and asked my parents to transfer us out of our neighborhood school, they knew that my request merited serious consideration if I volunteered to make a transition. This was the only time I contributed to the decision-making process regarding my education except when I decided to drop out of

college. My first decision was a good one. I have always regretted the latter.

Two years after leaving the university, mother informed me that I had to do something about my future--go back to school or get a job. I chose to go to work. I immediately began taking tests at insurance companies. One of my cousins, who did not go to college, worked for an insurance company. I passed the tests, and every company I applied to offered me a job. That did a lot for me and shocked but pleased my family. They wanted to know how I managed to get so many job offers. I was happy to tell them that I tested well. Testing is not a problem for me. Once my parents took me to see an educational psychologist at the USC Reading Center because my reading scores were low. He told my parents that I was at least two grades above grade level. I then admitted that I was having problems dealing with being the tallest kid in class. He advised my dad to spend more time with me to help build my self-esteem.

In response to the survey, attending an integrated school was a positive experience for me. I learned to interact with people from different races and cultures. I also became

better prepared for the diversity in the work world.

Despite my limited education, I moved on from the first job I had gotten with Occidental Insurance Company when my parents again pushed me to make a decision about my future. That was thirteen years ago, and today I am grateful to them for each push. I regret that I did not complete college, but because of the pushes, diversity, and segregation and integration experiences, I have enjoyed my life.

This is my tenth year with the Bank of America. I am in the process of transferring from Los Angeles to Phoenix to work in the bank's new complex. I am making progress because this is the first voluntary transition I have made in my life.

Marcus Vlon Battiest,
Single bank employee

Youngest Daughter.

I was motivated to go to college by the desire to expand my knowledge, specifically about the business world. I knew that a larger world existed beyond my immediate community and culture. My parents influenced my decision to seek an education because I saw them pursue higher

education while I was a teenager. I became aware of the educational process early enough and knew that I did not want to go straight to work in a low-paying job and get stuck in a rut. My goal was to make choices to fulfill my potential.

My college major was business administration. This did not surprise my family because I was earning \$25-\$30 a day in junior high school selling See's candy to other students. My sales began interrupting classes because the students would look for me (throughout the school) to buy candy. The principal mandated that I could only sell before and after school and during lunch. Later, I voluntarily gave up the business because those restrictions limited my profits.

The best occupational experience I have had was after graduating from college, getting married, having two children, and [getting] divorced. I was hired by Jerry Buss to work at the Los Angeles Forum for the Lakers. It was exciting to work in such a fast-paced environment. Eventually that career experience ended, because it was difficult for my departmental co-workers (all males) to work cooperatively with a female.

I am not certain that race was an issue, although I was the only black in my department.

My awareness of racial differences increased at the junior high level. I knew very little about segregation or integration during my elementary school years. Yet I knew at the fifth grade level that some schools were more integrated than our home or community school because my older brother and sister transferred out of our community to a predominantly white school.

When I reached junior high I became keenly aware of my race and other ethnic groups (particularly whites). This diversity in the classroom motivated me to want to expand my knowledge, grow, and develop. I did just that at an extremely fast pace.

There were adjustments for me and my teachers to make at the new school. For example, I had been placed in gifted classes during fifth grade. When I transferred to junior high in West Hollywood, my counselor had me retested. He determined that I was not gifted. That did not bother me. I had not enjoyed being isolated from my friends when I was placed in gifted classes at

my old school. Tracking and academic placement were not important issues to me.

Evidently, these issues were important to teachers and other school staff. When the counselor contacted my parents to tell them that the system at my new school was different (meaning better) than the one from whence I came, my mother informed him that they (she and dad) had not requested special placement or tracking for me at either school. They did question his attitude. I wondered what all the confusion and discussions were about. The results were that I was placed in all honors classes and was happy to be there.

My parents were the main force behind my ability to cope. They encouraged me to expand my mind and pursue knowledge despite the odds and not being readily accepted by the mainstream. I participated in extracurricular activities such as holding student body and senate offices. I was in the band and orchestra (flute, drums, and clarinet). I also played the guitar. What I liked most about my new school was the multicultural environment. I realized that being "different" outwardly was an advantage as well as a disadvantage.

This "difference," as viewed by others, enabled me to participate in many different activities throughout my secondary and college education years. I began playing tennis in the 11th grade and enjoyed the sport.

I attended the United States International University--San Diego, California. The university set up a new campus in London during my freshman year. I was one of their pioneer students--selected to go to England three weeks after arriving on campus. My family and I were very excited. We did not realize that the fast pace was almost too much for me at age 18. I played tennis in Europe and for a while after I returned to the states, but I dropped the sport during my junior year. My parents did not understand my behavior. Neither did I at that time.

I realize now that I was overwhelmed by the different environments I was exposed to. For example, when I was on the high school tennis team, I was viewed as being an excellent player. The problem was that I was not as well-trained as the players who began playing as children. Despite the encouragement from my coach, the players, and my parents, I felt inadequately

prepared. My parents provided private tennis lessons (which they really could not afford), and my game improved tremendously. I continued feeling not quite up-to-par on the court despite my obvious successful games.

Later at USIU, I realized that the affluence of some of my teammates and my working-class background were so extremely different. I often felt uncomfortable playing on their private (home and country club) tennis courts. I now regret that I did not continue playing the sport, but I do understand what some of the problems were.

Another interesting college experience was representing USIU at the United Nations. My years at USIU were the most enjoyable college years. My education was interrupted when I became a single parent, married, and had a second child. My husband had completed law school before our marriage. After our divorce, it took approximately seven years for me to obtain my degree in business administration. On graduation day, my younger brother said, "Sis, if you did it, I know that I can too." That was a proud moment for me. I had come a long way.

I don't remember exactly how I learned to read and write. I was curious about both processes and watched and listened as my older siblings studied and did their homework. I do remember learning to write and express myself somewhat better in school during the primary grades, but my writing skills improved in high school through determination and self-motivation to organize and express my thoughts on paper.

Reading comprehension and understanding concepts were difficult. I could not pronounce certain words or know the sounds. However, recognizing the words and knowing the meanings while reading pulled me through. Even today, as a law student, I find that as I read, I cannot verbally recite certain words but know them by sight.

I speak standard and black English. Most members of my family speak both. My belief is that knowing the difference is very important in our society. Historically, there has been and is today a stigma attached to black English.

My test scores are influenced by redundancy and repetition when preparing for the test. I do well with reasoning. Overall, being prepared and

understanding the key ideas influence my scores. My test scores are affected negatively by poor reading comprehension skills and boring passages that are removed from my ethnic background. I do well on the mathematical aspects of testing.

My educational process has been negatively affected by my not giving sufficient time and attention to studying and striving to fulfill requirements. Time management has been my greatest difficulty. I have done well academically but often wonder if I could have done better within a more structured home environment. Education was valued by my family but circumstances and goals were not always compatible. We had to strive to excel against great odds. My generation (the third) did not face the same obstacles as my parents and grandparents; therefore, we are expected to "do better." Lack of certain built-in advantages influenced me to give double effort to achieve. I believe that no one else will do it for me.

Culturally and socially the factors that have affected my educational experiences are being exposed to other cultures and interacting with other ethnic groups. These experiences have

positively enhanced my perspectives regarding human relations. I have been able to see that I have limitations, and the limitations beyond me only make me more determined to overcome the barriers that society and other human beings might have set for me.

I often wonder if a more structured home environment (having a mother who worked and the experience of living with five siblings was not an easy feat) and a better understanding of how the world around us affected my family would have enabled me to have been better adjusted when dealing with mainstream society. On the other hand, given the circumstances and the changing times of desegregation and integration, I have done well educationally and socially. Retaining a positive concept of my culture, despite societal views, has not been easy. My mother's acronym SOS (Support Our Strengths) has helped me in the area of cultural pride. I plan to use my background and experiences to encourage and motivate my children to "to better." My hope is in them.

Bridgette Battiest Ray,
Divorced parent of two
children and law student

Second Son.

The feat of poverty and the desire to separate myself from the community where my family and personal friends lived motivated me to seek a college education. In order to "do better" than my foreparents, I had to leave the environment where I grew up.

I decided to go to Chico State in Northern California. My father wanted me to attend the Air Force Academy, which recruited and pursued me because I was viewed as being an excellent athlete. I did not attend the Academy because it required a minimum six-year commitment for a college education.

Athletics were very important to me, but my goal was to obtain a college degree as soon as possible. I knew that athletics could be a deterrent based on past experiences. My brother-in-law spent five years at a junior college and a large state university as an athlete/student. He spent very little time studying and due to a knee injury, left the university without a degree or the opportunity to play professional (NBA) basketball in the United States. I did not want to make the same mistake.

High school athletics were very important to me. I played baseball, football, basketball, and ran track. I have an unbroken record at Webster Junior High School in Westwood, California--the community where UCLA is located. I chose basketball as my main high school sport. The first two years were enjoyable and successful. We changed coaches at the end of my junior year, and my hopes for a basketball scholarship ended. The new coach did not view my athletic ability positively, despite my record which was validated by the school and the media (the Los Angeles Times and other local newspapers). I experienced racism in sports for the first time during my senior year in high school. I survived that experience, and when the coach at Chico State began the same game plan, I gave up basketball and devoted my time to studying. My parents were not aware of my decision but understood my fears and concern for my education. Unfortunately, too many black males place sports above education. Our higher education institutions support this practice.

My educational process was always influenced by my parents and at Chico State, a communication professor. Communication was my major. My

family's lifestyle influenced my educational process positively and negatively. My parents were great educational role models who taught me about the values and struggles in obtaining a true education. I learned from them that true education involves learning from your mistakes/misfortunes and continuing to strive not only for an "A" but also to learn about your strengths and weaknesses. The negative educational experiences stem from being a poor and black family. My parents had high aspirations for their children and often resorted to what I viewed (as a child) negative measures and processes to provide quality education for us.

When I reached junior high school, the permit to attend school in West Hollywood had expired for the Battiest family, according to the Los Angeles School System's Permit with Transportation (PWT) program for ethnic students to attend school outside their communities. My older siblings did not ride the school bus because we did not live near the bus pick-up sites. They were fortunate. The LA busing system for transporting students was lousy. My siblings used the public transportation system for school.

I was the first child to be "bused" to the Valley for better educational opportunities. My parents used extreme measures to avoid using the school's busing system. For my first and second years of junior high school, I lived in West Los Angeles with an aunt and attended Webster Junior High--an excellent school.

My experience at Webster was very enjoyable, and I did well academically and in sports. I also sang in the school chorus and played in the band. Socially, I had to make some adjustments to adapt to my new environment. Webster's students were predominantly white and had one black teacher on staff. Black and Hispanic students were bused in from inner-city LA. One of my negative experiences was being directed to the big yellow buses because I was black. My cousins and I lived in the Westwood community, but each day we were confronted with having to convince the busing personnel that we were not bus riders. After the first year we were more or less convinced. My other problem was that I lived away from home five days a week. My aunt and cousins were some of my favorite people, but they were not my parents and siblings. I resented having to live with them in

order to get a "good" education. I displayed my resentment by refusing to say the pledge of allegiance in homeroom each day. [Neither] my teacher nor my parents knew why. When I finally explained how I felt, my parents were dismayed but understood my rationale. I did not believe that "liberty and justice for all" was a true phrase. Otherwise, I would not be living away from home for my education because of the inequality in our school systems and our nation. That was one of the many difficult predicaments my parents faced as they strived to prepare their children to "do better" in life. I believed that it was agreed among us (my parents, the teachers, and me) that I would say the pledge but not the part about "liberty and justice for all." It seems important to share these experiences in relation to the survey questions regarding language usage.

I have been affected by stereotypical language as a black speaker. In my opinion, other cultures or ethnic groups view black dialect as being degrading and humorous. The latter view had always disturbed me until I realized that black dialect is a special language which has been handed down from generation to generation. I

speaking standard and black English, standard English for social survival and black dialect for its uniqueness and social code.

I learned to read at home and school. My siblings helped to motivate me because I wanted to do whatever they did. Exposure to Sunday School also influenced and contributed to my developmental reading process.

My test scores have been affected by lack of preparation and understanding about how tests are designed for failure or success. Research shows that intelligence tests are not valid measuring tools for minorities, particularly blacks. My classwork test scores depended on the instructor, classroom environment, and enthusiasm toward the subject. In general education courses my grades were usually Cs. If the course contained material that interested me, I made As and Bs.

Integration and busing affected my growth and development culturally, socially, and academically. Integrating into other cultures academically and socially helped me to understand the masks different races wear to hide prejudices, fear, and ignorance. These masks are not limited to any particular group. Riding the school bus

from inner-city LA to the San Fernando Valley as a part of the integration process was initially a very painful and frustrating experience. The daily bus ride was enlightening. It illustrated three different aspects of my world--hope, frustration, and boredom.

I was given the choice (by my parents) of attending my community high school, which had a poor educational program but an excellent basketball team plus most of my friends were there, or going to the Valley school for a better academic program where the student population was predominantly white, and I would have a daily long round-trip bus ride. I chose the Valley school. I knew about the academic advantages in schools outside our community. I was also aware of the social and cultural disadvantages for me.

The busing program taught me discipline and responsibility. Each night, I had to prepare my clothing and homework for the following day. My schedule was rigid and long--5:30 a.m. to 8:30 p.m. I had to adapt and handle that schedule if I wanted to compete academically and athletically with students who were primarily more advanced. I

took the challenge and was determined to succeed. It was not an easy feat.

I was not prepared for the busing experience. The bus ride was approximately two hours each way. It was tiring and frustrating to ride such a long distance on a crowded freeway with hundreds of yellow buses (all going one direction) plus other traffic going both directions.

This scenario stemmed from the "white flight" movement from LA to the Valley after the 1960 riots. Schools were built in the Valley before communities were fully established. In the meantime, LA schools were deteriorating and becoming overcrowded. My mother was naive enough to believe that busing would be a two-way venture until she attended a school board meeting and learned differently. The burden of seeking quality education fell on the black children. We had to follow the educational trend and ride the bus away from our inadequate schools to the better schools where staff and students were not always receptive or responsive to our needs.

My parents (for the first time) were not able to adequately be supportive for their child's educational process. Fortunately, I had learned

survival skills at the junior high level in Westwood when I lived away from home five days a week. I realize now that a motivating force was my mother. Since early childhood, she always told me that I was capable of accomplishing anything I wanted to do. I grew up believing that. That belief sustained me through my junior and senior high school and college years.

During my third year at Chico State, I dropped out of school for a semester. I moved to Santa Barbara. My parents lived there. I worked two jobs--for Parks and Recreation and at the high school. I also began applying to other colleges. I had decided not to return to Chico. It was amazing that each college or university accepted my application and admitted me. The most amazing acceptance notice came from Cal Poly-San Luis Obispo, California, which is located near Santa Barbara. It carefully selects its students and caters to architecture majors. That was not my field of study, but my mother insisted that I take the challenge and apply. I did and was accepted. On the day that I received my acceptance notice, the Los Angeles Times published an article about Cal Poly, stating that the admittance requirements

were rigid. What a coincidence! I did not select that school. I transferred to the University of Southern California and graduated in 1986 but will always remember and appreciate that experience.

In response to the survey question regarding cultural and social factors that have impacted my educational experiences, I believe that the experience of living away from my parents for five days a week at age 11, participating in the Los Angeles busing program, and transferring from Chico State to USC (two very different campus environments) was an education inasmuch as it taught me how to live in different cultures with ethnically diverse groups of people and will, hopefully, enable me to meet any challenge in the future.

Derek Battiest,
Married parent of two
children

Youngest Son.

I was convinced at an early age that education was an important issue for my family. I entered a Christian pre-school at the age of three. My high school graduation at 17 was my fifth graduation. That set a graduation record for the Battiests. I was also the first of six

children to attend a private school before college.

According to information that has filtered down through the years, my oldest sister graduated from high school and went away to college the summer I was born. We became acquainted later. My parents were uncertain about what to do with a new baby. Each of them was almost 40 years old. When I was three years old, my mother received her masters and planned to return to teaching. That created a problem due to lack of child care in our community. The solution to the problem was to send me to Victory Baptist Elementary School.

My preschool teacher's name was Miss Lucy. I will always remember her. She was a big woman and a strict teacher who had arched eyebrows that pointed upward in the center when she stared at you. Initially, I was afraid of her. I realized, later, that she was a kind person, and I learned a lot from her. For my mother's 40th birthday, I surprised everyone when I (unannounced) recited the 23rd Psalm. I had learned it for my first graduation ceremony. Everyone declared that the church school and Ms. Lucy were the greatest.

My kindergarten teacher was also strict but otherwise different to Ms. Lucy. She was young and pretty. I feel in love with her but cannot remember her name. Kindergarten at Victory was in session all day. My mother was shocked when she learned that we did not take naps because our academic program required a full day. I was in a K-1 combination class. I survived kindergarten, graduated, and went to first grade that fall.

During the first grade, my regular teacher left. That affected my progress in school. My reading comprehension level dropped. The new teacher was not even credentialed by the State of California. The following semester I transferred to public school.

It was explained to the teacher that I was reading below grade level. My parents checked with one of their friends and learned that she was the "best" second grade teacher, and she was. The school was overcrowded. It was overwhelming to transfer from a school with 200 students to one with almost 2,000. Despite those problems, I had a wonderful year.

My teacher's name was Mrs. Titus. My reading improved because she was an excellent teacher and

really worked with me. She cared about her students, and we felt safe in Bungalow 38--no matter what was happening at school. My mother and I read together every night, and I was reading at grade level at the end of the school year. For years, my mother sent cards and gifts to Mrs. Titus out of gratitude for her help in getting me on the right track. I remained at that school through the fourth grade.

My parents resigned from teaching in 1982. My dad, who was also an associate minister, became a full-time pastor. He was assigned a church in Santa Barbara. That career change continues to impact our family's lifestyle today.

We were not able to move into the parsonage in Santa Barbara because members of the Church "family" lived there. For almost a year and a half, we commuted from Los Angeles to Santa Barbara. Each Sunday we were on the freeway at 7:30 a.m. I had mixed emotions about the situation. It was exciting but sometimes tiring and, I sensed, unfair. Besides my afternoons were no longer spent playing with friends but returning home on a crowded freeway. It was usually dark when we arrived in Los Angeles. My older brother

described the situation perfectly. He was home for the holidays and traveled with us to church. He said, "Dad, this is a long way to drive to worship God." I silently agreed.

Finally, we were able to move. The transfer to Santa Barbara was a positive experience for me. My school was beautiful--with 200 students--and a view of the ocean overlooking Santa Barbara's "Riviera." By sixth grade, I was student body president. I was the first black president of that school. At the end of the year I graduated again--for the third time.

We remained in Santa Barbara for five years. My dad asked the bishop to allow him to remain there through my middle school graduation from eighth grade.

The move from Santa Barbara to Tucson was traumatic. I was in a state of culture shock for almost a year. I enrolled at Catalina High School and enjoyed being a student there. My parents weren't happy with the school. I had an academic problem the first year. I failed algebra, despite having a tutor and frequent parent/teacher conferences. My dad had a final conference during the last week of school, and we felt certain that

I would pass the course. I failed, along with many other students. The teacher, who was a military wife, moved to Florida at the end of the school year. My mother filed a petition with the TUSD board but was later told that the filing date had passed when her petition arrived. The deadline was not given on the petition paper. That problem was resolved by sending me to Santa Barbara to repeat the course. I received a B.

My athletic experiences at Catalina were a mixture of both positives and negatives. I played football and basketball. I had a knee injury and had to have orthoscopic surgery. That ended playing football for me. I was happy that the doctor agreed that I could continue playing basketball. That has always been my love.

I began playing basketball when I received one for my third birthday. The realization of my love for the sport came into focus when I was five or six years old. We had a basketball team at the Christian school. One day we were playing, and I could hear the loud cheering from the crowd as I moved down the court toward the goal. I scored. It was later that I learned that the cheering was for me. It was a surprising but happy experience.

When I told my family, my mother said that she knew that my love for basketball was beyond my control. She had mixed emotions about sports because my brother-in-law and brother had negative experiences with basketball in high school and college.

My negative experience began during my junior year at Catalina. My coach moved me up to the varsity team at the end of my freshman year. I was the leading player (point guard) during my sophomore year. The following year my playing time dropped drastically, and I often played on the second team. I was not given an explanation.

My parents were told that the change in my playing time and status on the team were not due to lack of ability. The coach said he evaluated me to be the best high school point guard in the City of Tucson, but the other players had also reached their peak and deserved a chance to play more. We could not argue against the latter part of his statement. It was confusing that he had not talked to me about anything. My mother told the coach that she viewed the coach/student relationship as being the same as teachers and students, and if a student's performance in class

or on the court was not up to par, the teacher or coach should at least talk to him and/or the parents about the situation. I quit the team because it was all too frustrating. I have regretted that decision because it was the beginning of the end for my basketball scholarship aspirations.

My main focus in high school was basketball, but I also did well academically because I did not want to be labeled a "dumb jock." My dad had insisted since elementary school that I take music. I selected the trumpet because it only has three notes, and I assumed that it would be an easy instrument to learn to play. I was wrong. I was in the jazz and regular band in junior high and the high school band at Catalina for two years. I decided to sing in the chorus my junior year. That was my last academic musical involvement.

The transfer back to Santa Barbara was a great experience for my social life and schooling. It was a disaster for my basketball interest. I could not play because I was a transfer student from another state, despite playing with the Santa Barbara High team each summer in the summer league

and at basketball camp at Westmount College. I was determined to play basketball during my senior year.

The process for my eligibility involved the legal guardianship of the family that I lived with. We had to get an attorney and go through the court system for that process. In the meantime, my parents had to file a hardship case with the California Sports Commission. By the time all the legal problems were resolved, the season was almost over. My playing time was too limited for me to be seen by scouts and considered for an athletic scholarship. That ended my basketball aspirations.

I graduated from Santa Barbara High School in 1990. I am glad that my parents insisted that I take college prep courses. My test scores were not very high after junior high. I don't know what happened. My scores are low on multiple-choice tests, but I do well on essay exams. Advance preparation seems to be the key for classroom testing. The state and national tests don't allow that opportunity. Doing well on them depends on background knowledge and experiences.

Test scores are so important in our schools. In junior high I was in all honors classes except English. I was placed in a lower-level English class because I did not test well in that area. The experience in the high- and low-level classes helped me to see the segregation of students according to race. Minorities were placed in average and below average classes because they had low test scores. White students were placed in higher level and honors classes because they had high test scores and involved parents, who sometimes told the counselor to place their children in better classes and they would do the required classwork.

I was placed in honors classes for the same reasons. I was concerned about my placement for two reasons. First, I was afraid that the work would be too difficult, and I was separated from my black friends. The honors classes were not too difficult. I did not do well in the low English class because the work was boring. I was retested and transferred to a higher-level English class. The students in the better classes are also able to do well because they have strong support systems at home and school. The assignments are

worked on until they merit an A and not less than a B. Being placed on the right track in junior high helped prepare me for college. I am a second-year student at The University of Arizona and looking forward to my next (sixth) graduation in 1995.

William Marvell Battiest,
Single student

Conclusions

The survey data for this segment of the study demonstrate how the second- and third-generation family's cultural, social, and educational experiences were impacted by community life, language usage, segregation/integration, and busing programs.

The parents' (second generation) lifestyles were similar in the sense that they both lived under the system of legal segregation. Some of the differences in their lifestyles were that the mother grew up in a small town in Oklahoma. Her parents continued to live there, and she visits annually.

The father lived on a plantation in Arkansas, and his community is nonexistent today. He did not attend school for more than four months during each school year and declares that prior to college he spent less than a total of five years in school. He is amazed that he has progressed

to having earned several degrees despite his limited educational background.

The mother lived in a more nurturing community environment where the educational system was more structured. Although she attended school for six months during the winter and spring and three months during the summer, she had a full nine-month school year. The fall season was for harvesting. This system changed after integration.

As the participating investigator for this study, I can affirm that the mothers (first generation) were the motivating force for their children's (second generation) educational pursuits. They advocated education as a way to live more successful lives.

In Different and Wonderful, Dr. Alvin Poussaint (1990) states that

[If] our children are to succeed in an increasingly technological and white collar society, they must believe in themselves and their talents. They must be encouraged and supported in their efforts to achieve in school and in their adult lives. Black children must be taught that being black is not synonymous with failure and a lack of school and societal accomplishments. (p. xvi)

The goal of the parents of the first and second generation families of this study coincide with Poussaint's (1990) beliefs. These parents simply want to see each generation "do better" than their foreparents.

The third generation participants' schooling was under the system of integration, although their schools were often segregated in the area of Los Angeles where they lived. When the experiences in the segregated community schools became unbearable, these children requested that their parents transfer them out of their school district.

That process involved becoming a part of Los Angeles' PWT (Permit without Transfer) Program. The transfer program was not available in their immediate community, but the parents used the permits and utilized the public transportation system to send their children to better schools in West Hollywood. The expense for school transportation was an economic burden for the family because there were three children who needed round-trip fares each day. The burden of long bus rides to get to better schools fell on the children. The change in their lifestyles was not easy for the family, but the benefits outweighed the negative aspects of the necessary transitions and changes. The goal for the family was to provide better educational opportunities for the children. The burden for this process basically fell on the shoulders of the children.

Mack's (1968) Our Children's Burdens writes about blacks and their dreams for their children.

Many American Negroes cling to the American dream . . . [and] cherish the idea that someday their children will make a big success. . . . As American citizens they want them to have a fair chance to compete for a share in the American way of life--a chance dependent upon equal educational opportunity. (p. 9)

The PWT Program provided that opportunity for the older children of the family, and it proved to be a fairly successful avenue for them during the 1970s.

The experiences of many students who actually rode the buses for the PWT Program were too often disastrous. The long bus ride from Los Angeles to the San Fernando Valley is still a part of the PWT process in the 1990s. Parents' concerns today are similar to those during the past two decades.

Banks (as cited in the Los Angeles Times, June 17, 1990) shares a parent's comment in her article "Minority Gains Limited in LA Busing Program."

Patsy Boston, like many parents, expected great things when she signed her daughter up to travel from South Central Los Angeles to the San Fernando Valley seven years ago. "I wanted her to have the

experience of different cultures and other environments . . . but mostly, I wanted her to get a better education, and I believed the Valley schools were better." Now she says, after watching her daughter's grades drop and her attitude turn sour, she plans to pull her out of the program and return her to their neighborhood school next fall. "Why should I put her through all this?" she said. "To go someplace where she's not wanted and they don't care whether she succeeds or fails?"

Success or failure is the main concern that black and other caring parents have for their children's well-being in school and society, as this study indicates.

The focus of this aspect of the five-generation study is primarily on a third-generation family. Individual essays describe the experiences of each respondent to a survey regarding culture, society, and education. There is a central theme in the messages from the respondents. Each generation strives to provide better educational opportunities for their children, thus enabling them to "do better" than the previous generation.

A search for solutions to the problems that impede the process for these opportunities is what this study is all about. An analysis of the compiled responses to the survey

show that the positive family traits for this family are family cohesiveness, parental influence, motivation to achieve, and the willingness to make changes and transitions for better educational opportunities.

It is the investigator's belief that the findings from this study can assist other families who are seeking avenues for cultural, social, educational, and economic improvement by analyzing and learning from the successes and failures of past and present generations.

A Personal Perspective of the Educational
Experience: Primer to Ph.D.

The Ph.D. is the capstone to a formal academic training process which begins with the doctoral recipient's entrance into elementary school. (Boyer, 1972, p. 9)

I have included a personal perspective of my educational process to provide an overview of the experiences that have impacted positively and negatively from the primer through the Ph.D. process.

The first earned doctorate in the United States was awarded by Yale University in 1861 (Boyer, 1972). In 1991, 38,547 such degrees were earned (U.S. Center for Educational Statistics, 1991). Table 3 lists degrees awarded during that year by ethnicity. The field of Education issued the

Table 3

Doctorates Awarded in 1991 by Ethnicity

Ethnicity	N	%
White, non-Hispanic	25,880	65.7
Black, non-Hispanic	1,212	3.1
Hispanic	732	1.9
Asian/Pacific Islander	1,458	3.8
American Indian/Alaska Native	102	0.3
Non-resident Alien	9,715	25.2

(U.S. Center for Educational Statistics, 1991)

highest number of doctorates in 1991, a total of 6,697, followed by Engineering with 5,272. These data reflect the disparity among various ethnic groups in American institutions of higher education. This disparity can be viewed as a continuation of the problems which have impacted some groups since their initial contact experiences with the dominant group in America. In the meantime, it is necessary for concerted efforts to be made by each group to strive to overcome past and current obstacles in order to achieve in school and society.

In Minorities in Higher Education (Justiz, Wilson, & Bjorr, 1994), it is suggested that

We cannot single out American higher education to eliminate the barriers that prohibit minorities from participating fully in education. . . . The call must be coordinated action taken at every stage of the educational system, from early childhood programs to graduate and professional school. (p. 12)

Such action, to be effective, needs to have cooperative, integrated input from the home, school, and community--beginning with the child's admission to his/her first school experience. Justiz et al. (1994) describe the kind of environment in which a student (a primer student or a Ph.D. candidate) can thrive and achieve.

An institutional climate that promotes multicultural experiences, encourages diversity, and promulgates pluralism is one that demonstrates that it is one that can change its values and its behavior. A supportive institutional climate is one that ensures that all students are involved in their education, feel a sense of belonging and enhanced self-esteem, and are encouraged to take advantage of experiences offered on the . . . campus. (p. 13)

It is also important for students' voices to be heard and listened to because they know what they need and whether their needs are being met. This "knowing" begins at an early age.

The purpose of including a personal perspective in this study is to share my educational experiences and processes beginning with the primary years and continuing to the present. It is important to me, particularly for the sake of my children and grandchildren, to share these experiences in order to provide an understanding of what I have done and the reasons underlying my actions. If they choose, they can review my written personal perspective objectively to determine what might be applicable to their lives as they strive to achieve in school and society. The decision to include this perspective in the dissertation also stems from the fact that I will be the first recipient of a Ph.D. among my living five-generation family. Others who choose to pursue a doctorate need to be knowledgeable about the pros and cons of the process. I feel so strongly about this that in 1993 I initiated and facilitated the first intercultural panel discussion for the annual student colloquy in the Department of Language, Reading and Culture in the College of Education at The University of Arizona. Panelists included African Americans, Anglo Americans, Asian Americans, Hispanics, Jewish Americans, and Native Americans

who shared their views and perspectives related to the doctoral process. Each participant discussed aspects of the doctoral process, equity in education, and information related to their beginning years in school. Following the panel discussion, Dr. Judy Mitchell, Professor and former Head of the Department of Language, Reading and Culture at The University of Arizona, suggested that such a discussion become a part of the colloquy's annual format. Information of this kind can benefit others in academia, particularly new doctoral candidates and faculty members. According to Newman (as cited in Justiz et al., 1994),

The problems confronting minorities can be found (and need to be addressed) not simply in higher education but at all levels of education and throughout society. . . . Solving those problems now is a task not for the federal government alone but for states as well and for institutions of higher education and students. . . . Clearly, we are still in the early stages of inventing workable solutions to the problems that have kept minorities underrepresented in higher education. Though the problems themselves are not new, our recognition of how seriously they challenge our national well-being is relatively recent. (p. 357)

This recognition led to the declaration by the federal courts that segregated schools were inherently unequal. In 1954, the Supreme Court ruled unanimously for the desegregation of all public schools in the United States (Loevy, 1990). That law passed two years after I graduated from high school, and the changes that took place in Wynnewood's school system after this Brown v. Topeka Board of Education ruling were amazing. First, the Wynnewood financial power brokers orchestrated a movement that found funding to upgrade the black school. A new gymnasium was built (we had not had one at the black school before), an attached new building for a modern home economics department was added, library books and other instructional materials were provided, musical instruments were supplied, and a band was formed. Our school had always had an excellent music teacher; however, she could teach only singing when I was a student there. (She gave private piano lessons in homes, but these were not allowed in school.) It is interesting that the focus was on areas that were viewed as "what Negroes liked"--sports and music. I surmised based on my experience as a former student that the upgrading of the home economics department was related to the fact that we served the community civic leaders at least twice a year. This was a special event that allowed the principal to show how well-trained his students were. Both males and females

took home economics--cooking, table setting, serving, etc. That was the aspect of our education that was exhibited on those special occasions. The glee club also entertained the group with musical presentations. Our music department won state contests at annual music festivals that were always held in "the city," meaning Oklahoma City, the state capital. The extensive improvements did not significantly deter or eliminate integration, which became a reality in my home town in 1956.

Growing up, I lived under the system of legal segregation in the small town of Wynnewood, Oklahoma, where blacks and poor whites lived in substandard housing in the same community but attended different schools. Neighborhood Anglo children attended what we called "the white school." The black students attended a "separate" and supposedly "equal" black school. One Native American student who had been adopted by white parents also attended the white school. Although my parents were taxpaying American citizens, we did not have access to city services, not even running water for many years. Of course, there was not an indoor toilet or other bathroom facilities. Eventually, after World War II, the black doctor who was our neighbor petitioned to have a water line run through our street. My family benefitted from his efforts, and we then had access to running water.

We have always been grateful to this doctor and his wife for their roles in our lives. Various members of our family would express that gratitude to each of them when they were alive. He delivered the 12 of us into the world, and she taught each of us through first grade. The students in our town were fortunate inasmuch as we had a lovely school (grades primer-12). It was a large well-kept brick building. One of the town's bootleggers (he, his brother, and a neighbor sold whiskey illegally) was our janitor. He took pride in both occupations, although the bootlegging was supposed to be a secret from the students. The school was the pride and joy of our community. That is where all of the "respectable" social events were held--musicals, plays, fashion shows, banquets, and, of course, school-closing events where students presented their best talents, and some received annual awards for academic excellence. There were two families in town larger than ours, but the Calhoun clan (as we were always called) received the most awards. Our mother (who is not competitive) was sometimes uncomfortable with that kind of focus on our family, possibly because of comments by some members of the community. Once a visiting principal from a nearby community asked whether all the Calhoun children who received awards were from one family? The response was a resounding "no."

Having a lovely building did not mean that we had an adequate educational system with a well-supplied library and a librarian. Teachers and high school students alternately served in that capacity. Our curriculum lacked all but one science. We were taught only biology. Our math classes were algebra and geometry. Another plus for the school was that we had excellent and caring teachers who were innovative and academically qualified. Most had an advanced degree at the masters level. They were sometimes too strict and monitored our behavior and speech, always insisting that "you get your lesson" each day. Upon reflection, I realize that their goal was to motivate us to learn how to become self-reliant and productive adults though we were poor and living under segregation. It is amazing to me that racism was not a part of our discussions at home or school. The results are that we, the members of the second generation, though keenly aware of racism, are less plagued or antagonistic about these issues than our children (the third and fourth generations). None of them attended segregated schools, yet they are more retaliatory about discrimination and economic inequities. This, in my opinion, is an area that deserves more research. Perhaps the difference can be attributed to each generation's everyday experiences in society, particularly in school. Rosenberg and Simmons (as cited in Prager, 1975) found that black children have higher

levels of self-esteem in segregated schools than in those that are desegregated. Another possible contributing factor may be that attitudinal changes that occurred during the turbulent 1960s are continuing to plague American society in spite of civil rights and affirmative action granting more equity for African Americans, primarily in the areas of employment, politics, and housing. Lomotey's (1990) Going to School: The African American Experience describes schools that make a difference in helping students to overcome the adverse effects of being economically disadvantaged. For this to occur, the following characteristics must prevail:

1. Strong administrative leadership.
2. A climate of high expectations where no children are made to feel minimum levels of achievement.
3. An orderly, but not rigid, atmosphere that makes it clear that pupils' acquisition of basic academic skills is the first order of business, taking precedence over all other school activities.

There is too much anger and failure among children, particularly black children, and no one seems to know how to stop either. My view concurs with that of Jenkins (as cited in Berry & Asaman, 1989) who speaks to the anger and

frustration of black students. "Afro-Americans . . . never reach a higher standard than they can set for themselves. It needs to be understood that opposing circumstances should create a firm determination to overcome them, and let nothing hinder that process" (p. 149).

Striving to overcome obstacles has historically been an integral part of black family living. Personally, my greatest challenges have been related to family and academics. Since both of these aspects of my life are very important to me, staying on track in academia and in the home requires a degree of tenacity that can be very draining. Fortunately, increasing research studies are being presented in the literature to help alleviate some of the aforementioned problems for older students in higher education. At the same time, however, as shown in Mature Women Students (Edwards, 1993), many of the problems are not being addressed. As government and higher education institutions' interest in mature students heightened, research studies also proliferated. Many of these studies note that when women with families return to school, it means a radical change in their lives.

When it comes to the situation of the mature women students with families . . . certain questions are left unanswered. The interactions between family and education for . . . women students and the

effects of pursuing an education on women's family relationships may be pertinent areas to examine at a time when most mature women students are entering higher education--and concomitantly at a time when concern is being expressed over the fate of the family. (Edwards, 1993, p. 12)

It is reassuring to remind myself (during a crisis) that one of my strong traits (among my many weaknesses) has been to strive to overcome challenges, particularly those related to my academic progress. Beginning at the primer level through the pending Ph.D., I have appreciated all of the academic opportunities I have had despite the seemingly insurmountable obstacles that have continuously occurred during this long, long process. The beginning of school for me was at age three or four, and I have had a good academic beginning. I was in school at such an early age because both of my parents worked, and we did not have child care. The school allowed younger children to come to school and begin participating in the sandbox activities and art as long as we were quiet. Such activities were interesting at first because I was with my friends. Later, I became fascinated with the activities in which the older children were participating, particularly the reading sessions. I found a book like theirs and began to sit ear that area and listen. I don't recall how this occurred, but somehow I

eventually began to identify words and to read. One day I asked the teacher to allow me to read, and she hesitantly granted me permission to try. That was an exciting experience. After a few minutes, she told the class to be quiet and rushed me across the hall and asked the teacher to listen to my reading from a first grade book. I was excited because they were. I did not understand what all the commotion was about, but it made me happy. I knew instinctively that this was a special event. That instinct was validated when I was sent to first grade. From the primer to the Ph.D., reading has continued to be my favorite activity. Many events have taken place in my life since that first happy reading experience. The experiences were not always that happy or sad; there has been some balance. Family life and education have contributed to that balance when the impact of consecutive events has been too challenging. Joseph White's (1984) description of African Americans seems relevant.

They accept as a given that unavoidable pain, struggle, disappointment, and tragedy are necessary for personal growth; this is simply how things are. They are resourceful, inventive, imaginative, and enterprising in their approach to life. They are not immobilized or devastated by the realities of oppression in American life.

They have learned through the course of a lifetime that they are going to have an equal range of options [and] they have to depend on their own resources to create them. They are not afraid of being destroyed by racism and are proud to be Black. They have established a workable balance between Afro-American and Euro-American value systems in their internal space. It is important that the existentialist imperative be communicated in all black families, communities and classrooms. (pp. 161-162)

Existentialism advocated liberation and utter respect for the individual, including the recognition that everyone has certain potentialities, and each is in the process of becoming and is, therefore, searching for growth. Existentialism, according to Price (1980), is a philosophy that is "a protest against the dehumanization of the individual. . . . When existential themes are applied to education there is an emphasis placed on feelings and experiences of the individual" (pp. 2, 8).

Emotions and experiences can impact an individual's life and become a hindrance to accomplishing goals. The degree of the impact can determine whether one will succeed or fail in school and society. Some of the experiences I have had in graduate school have been frustrating when they

have been related to attitudes. Most of the time, I am surprised when this occurs, possibly because I am primarily interested in the issue at hand, and the other individual (I have learned) is focusing on ethnicity. The following incident illustrates one example of such an experience.

When I returned to school after my first 15-year absence, I attended a community college that opened that same year. When I had almost completed the required course work, I decided to attend UCLA or USC. My choice was influenced by my housing needs because we had five children. The UCLA area had excellent schools and provided adequate and reasonably priced student housing for large families. Attending USC would allow us to remain in our community, but we were concerned about the changing school climate at the high school in the area. Our oldest daughter was entering high school that fall. With all of these concerns, I made an appointment to see the dean of students at the community college I was attending to seek recommendations regarding these universities. He expected me, but when he knew that I was applying to what he called the two most prestigious universities in that area, he gave a very long explanation about his beliefs regarding blacks aspiring to attend elitist schools. He did not think we were qualified to do well at such institutions because most were ill-prepared for higher education. I did not have the opportunity to speak

for a while. He had a lot to tell me about black folk, particularly those who lived in Compton, where he had lived at one time. I was finally able to tell the dean that I was currently on the dean's list at his college, but I was concerned about the impact he was having on his student body, particularly the black students, with an attitude such as his. I withdrew my request for a recommendation from him. I was also concerned about what he would say about me --a black woman. The response to my intention to withdraw the request was "Oh no, Mrs. Battiest, I will give you a recommendation to any school that you select because you have middle-class values and speak standard English. Just like that he changed his mind about a black person based on assumptions immediately following our initial contact. His changed opinion was incorrect. I was not a middle-class person nor was I a standard English speaker. Lesson learned. He had preconceived notions about me or, possibly, any black person. I still don't know what was going on in his head. It didn't really matter, but I do remember the experience. I did later attend USC and received my bachelors and masters degrees there. I hope that the dean found a school more to his liking and with the right kind of student population because the kids at that college deserved better than someone with that kind of biased outlook. Kenneth Goodman (1981) says,

If you believe Black folks and other minority people are inferior, and if you believe that's reflected in, and maybe even most overtly demonstrated in, their language, then it's going to be very hard for you to hear and understand and accept anything else. So change of attitude becomes the most crucial objective. (p. 180)

Education has not devised a workable plan for changing stereotypical attitudes according to the stereotypical rhetoric that is heard in some educational institutions at every level of instruction. The aforementioned dean did, for whatever reason, seemingly change his attitude, but based on what and for how long? My view regarding stereotypical language and attitudes is that change must begin with those who stereotype--not those toward whom such bias is directed. My varied experiences have enabled me to at least relate to White's (1984) advice for blacks, that is, to establish a workable balance between the Afro-American and Euro-American systems.

It is my opinion that each minority group has strived, since arriving in the U.S., to establish a balance. Some groups have succeeded in doing so more than others.

When measuring success economically, statistics show that blacks are the least successful, with Asians/Pacific Islanders being the most successful group.

In relation to black families (the primary focus of this study), the data in Table 4 help to explain the status of blacks in the United States. Economics play a crucial role in determining families' levels of success or failure in school and society. Education and economics are intertwined inasmuch as economics can help to determine the kind of community, residence, and school to which the family has access. On the other hand, education is viewed as being the avenue for enhancing the economic and social status of a family.

Table 4

Medium Income of Households by Ethnicity

Ethnicity	Medium Income
Whites	\$30,368
Blacks	18,660
Asians/Pacific Islanders	38,153
Hispanics	22,848

(Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1994, p. 255)

Note. Native Americans and Jewish Americans were not included or identified in this report.

Jewel's (1988) view is that the strengths and weaknesses of families, particularly black families, are often synonymous with factors related to societal norms which influence family members' levels of success or failure. The factors identified are limited knowledge of complex social/political and economic systems, limited access to economic opportunities, lack of critical information necessary to make adequate decisions that affect academic and professional careers of adult and child family members, and, most of all, issues related to covert and overt racial discrimination in our nation's schools and society. Increased knowledge in each of the above areas can impact institutionalized barriers which can, in turn, reduce failures and contribute to success within black families.

Blockson (1977) and Hill (1972) declare that one way to make such an impact in the area of breaking down barriers effectively is for blacks to become more involved in research. Sharing their experiences as related to racism and other discriminatory practices can enhance blacks' knowledge about each other and contribute to the literature perspectives related to empowering blacks for the enhancement of their educational and economic opportunities. Improvements in these areas can contribute to blacks' success in school and society.

I agree with Engram's (1982) premise that "whatever families' [needs] are, their primary role is a humanizing one-on-one in which we derive imperatives for our survival. There is much to teach humanity about survival which flows from the experience of the black family" (p. 3). Engram also surmises, and again I agree, that "our own . . . experiences provide the empirical grounding for our theories . . . we desire to test (p. 3).

The importance of all groups voicing those experiences and providing theories about them to the literature can serve as a tool for self-empowerment and enlightenment in the field of research and the betterment of society. Too often disempowerment is more prevalent in our society than empowerment. This is particularly true for minorities. When individuals or groups are not heard, they are disempowered. Research shows that voice can become a tool for changing the status or circumstances of groups, as was shown in McCarty's (1989) study of the Red Rock Demonstration School on the Navajo Indian reservation in Arizona. When the residents of the reservation community united and gained control of their school with a self-governing Native American board, they were empowered by their strong leadership. Their voices became global through the international fame of their school. The death of the Red Rock Native American leader led to the loss of a strong

voice and the near death of the school. Ruiz (as cited in Sleeter, 1990) says,

To have a voice implies not just that people can say things, but that they are heard (that is, that their words have status, influence). If such influence diminishes or ends, the group can become disempowered. (p. 220)

Item 9 of the survey questionnaire for this study (Appendix A) states, "Identify and discuss aspects of family living that have impacted your educational process positively or negatively." The responses allow me, as the participating investigator, to have a voice to share my perspective and to present educational experiences that I have had. It is important to note that my roots are an integral part of my present educational process as they were when I was seeking the opportunity (as a primary student) to participate in the first grade reading class during the late 1930s. Something was urging me to learn to read and then to share that new knowledge with the teacher and my schoolmates. I know now that I was "motivated," but at the time (age four), I did not know the term. This motivation possibly stems from my roots, beginning with my father, who, though uneducated, was always an avid reader of the printed word, the Bible, newspapers, and our school books. I may have also been influenced by an older female sibling who

often shared her books with me. During a panel discussion at the 1984 International Reading Association in New Orleans, Strickland professed that "having my roots in early childhood education has influenced me over the years." Another panelist, Kenneth Goodman, shared that in some sense, our roots have been lost somehow, and we keep rediscovering them. I relate to both views as I reflect and realize the positive influence of my roots--those who have been and are a part of my life. Some aspects of family living that have impacted my educational process are not categorized either positively or negatively. I simply refer to them as challenges. The challenges faced, especially during the initial stage of my educational process during the pursuit of the Ph.D., have been related to lack of mentoring, money, and family-related matters. I had completed the necessary masters-level and doctoral course work prior to being admitted to the Department of Language, Reading and Culture. Within three months after Dr. Ruiz became my advisor, I was officially admitted to the program. Dr. Adela Allen, Associate Dean of the Graduate College at The University of Arizona, has commented that the major barriers to minority students' retention and graduation are lack of adequate mentoring and money (personal communication, November 23, 1994).

Family-related challenges have included family emergencies that, first, required me to leave school for a semester during the early 1990s and later, in 1993, necessitated that I become the legal guardian of two teenaged grandchildren for a year. During the past two years, my elderly parents' health also required me to travel to Oklahoma occasionally. My husband became ill and had major surgery during Spring 1994 which required a long recuperation period. My mother (age 94) also had major surgery. Recently, in 1995, we experienced the deaths of four family members within 30 days, my father (see Appendix D), mother-in-law, brother-in-law, and an uncle. They lived outside of Arizona in three different states. I view these experiences (perhaps because they were my compounded experiences) to be extremely unusual and include them as a part of the documentation of what has impacted my educational process.

Being a student has not been, from my perspective, a "normal" process for me. Research (Erikson, 1981; Ross, 1988) shows that the difference for students who are older women seems to be their position in the family and family-related responsibilities. This group is usually referred to as the sandwich generation--situated between parents and children, plus also having grandchildren.

Research regarding the status of reentry women has revealed that middle-aged women are reentering higher educational institutions at an increasing rate and challenging these institutions to consider each student as an individual who is continuing to grow and develop (Ross, 1988; Swift, 1987). Individual growth and development, according to Erikson (1981), occur and change throughout our lives. Erikson (1950) proposes that growth is a continuous process, and human beings' development occurs through a series of stages. The reentry female student's awareness of this process is of utmost importance for her development. Adaptation to the university for these women can be a difficult and sometimes challenging experience. One such experience for me was when I was told by an anthropology professor at The University of Arizona that she did not welcome mature students to her class because they monopolize the class discussions, and younger students were not comfortable having them as classmates. This was the professor's response to my inquiry (by telephone--we did not ever meet) about the format for the course she taught during which I mentioned that I was a mature reentry student. Attitudes such as this need to change if the university is going to meet the challenge of serving the influx of returning students now and in the future. Research (Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education,

1980) projected that the university student population was changing, and it was expected that women and older students would offset the drop in the number of women of traditional age who enrolled. For this reason, it may be encouraging to older students and the university community to be aware of students like Herbert Kirk, who graduated from Montana State University at age 97. "He was three years old when MSU was formed. President Clinton sent him a congratulatory letter," reported USA Today ("Herbert Kirk," 1993, p. A6). Christopher Dorn earned a masters degree from Arizona State University two days before his 90th birthday in 1992 ("ASU Earns Masters," 1993). Gertrude Allone, age 91, planned to attend college after completing her GED requirements. She left school during the third grade to scrub floors and help the family to make ends meet. Her great-grandson, a high school senior, encouraged her to "hit the books again" ("Grandmother," 1993, p. 13). These elderly students would certainly have been unwelcome in the aforementioned University of Arizona anthropology professor's class, just as she told me (in essence) that I was not.

The older student can present challenges to the university. We know what we want from our university experience but do not always know how to get it. That is where the university and its cohorts can guide us. Research (Pearson, 1989; Ross, 1988; Little & Denker, 1980) shows

that sometimes academia can have difficulty interacting with older reentry students. Many times the problems of the faculty and administration are too closely related to the problems being faced by the students seeking help. These similarities, as well as our differences, require adaptation on the part of all of us. Improving the status of women in higher education and society is a step in the direction to enhance human relations in our schools and society. The university and its cohorts can be the catalyst for helping us in these areas.

The reentry nontraditional female student indicates by returning to school that she is progressing developmentally. It is predicted that the numbers of reentry female students will continue to increase the enrollment of the institutions of higher education. It is the responsibility of these institutions to provide women's centers for counseling and support, reentry classes to help change negative self-concept, and a classroom environment that includes teachers who are sensitive to the needs and fears of the reentry female student who is past the half-century mark. Each woman has the potential to become a more valuable asset to our society through her academic achievements in higher education.

Making a contribution to the betterment of human relations in our multicultural society is a goal I will

aspire to achieve as I make the transition from being a full-time student to becoming a part of the work force in the future.

I have presented a personal perspective of the numerous experiences that have impacted my educational process from the primer to the present. It is assumed that such information can provide guidelines and, hopefully, assistance for others who will pursue the doctorate. My degree is viewed as a legacy for my 12 grandchildren.

This chapter concludes with profiles and varying perspectives of my grandchildren, members of the fourth generation (offspring of the third generation who are my children). The fourth generation participants are the great grandchildren of the matriarch and patriarch (my parents) of this study.

It is important to provide outlines and descriptions of the family's generational hierarchy continuously because it has been observed that members of the younger generation (third, fourth, and fifth) are sometimes perplexed about the generation to which they belong.

The Fourth Generation: Profiles and Perspectives of Their Educational, Cultural, and Social Experiences

This phase of the study focuses on fourth-generation children and youth (my grandchildren, ages 4-18). Their participation in the study is valuable for providing

empirical data regarding family and school experiences that have impacted their lives culturally, socially, and educationally. Parental assistance was helpful, particularly with the younger children. Some children are under five years old, so parents were an integral part of the data-gathering process for that age group. They served as very resourceful informants. Throughout this study, some interesting characteristics were revealed during informal gatherings in individual and group sessions and through the investigator's observations. Weekends were ideal times to gather data and to interact with and observe the participants of all ages from the time they arrived for "sleeping over" until they departed. The following excerpts are included to illustrate how young people view themselves, their families, their teachers, and different aspects of their (the children's) lives:

A View of Language and Its Usage

Discussions regarding language are rather common among the young people in our family. These discussions often relate to school and how language is used there on a daily basis. The following conversation is related to Item 15 on the Fourth-Generation Survey Questionnaire (see Appendix E), "How have you been affected by stereotypical language?" Only one respondent, Kyris, age 16, indicated on her survey response that she had been impacted by stereotypical

language. Yet, during a conversation regarding English literature, responses to this question actually expanded to include three generations.

My eldest granddaughter, Khalilah, commented about the absence of people of color in the literature at her school. Her brother Will's response was "Yeah, all they have in the books at my school is stuff about Huckleberry Finn, with talk about the N----- word. Deborah, their mother, shared that she had heard similar language when she was a college student. My input was that in doctoral education classes, the N----- word was blatantly used more times than I like to remember. My youngest son, Marvell, shared that "I also had trouble reading and hearing discussions about Ole Huck when I was in high school." Continued conversation about stereotypical language in the literature and classroom discussions revealed that often the teacher's response to a student's reaction to such language is "You know I am not a racist." Will's teacher's response was "Just reading a book should not bother anyone," which made Will feel that his discomfort meant that he had a problem and the literature and class discussion were appropriate and harmless.

It is interesting to note that family members from three generations, each in different settings, reacted in the same manner to the Huckleberry Finn story. It is also interesting that the teachers' responses to complaints or

comments regarding stereotypical language were similar. These perspectives, reactions, and responses can be attributed to the ethnicity of each individual or group. The complainers or reactionaries (my children, grandchildren and I) are African Americans, and the proponents of Huckleberry Finn (the teachers) are white. Our differing perspectives of stereotypical language can be attributed to the difference in our experiences in school and society. Language usage affects the attitudes of those to whom it is directed. Both the stereotypers and the stereotyped can benefit from the elimination of stereotypical language usage.

Dialect or Standard English

I asked the children, "Do you prefer to speak dialect or standard English?" Categories were provided to mark one or both speech patterns. Most respondents acknowledged that they speak both standard and black English. Only one, Candi (an African American/Samoan nine-year-old female), prefers to speak standard English. She says, "My brother and sister say I speak like a white person. I don't. I just speak." Candi is an articulate speaker who is sometimes teased about her speech. If she had been a youngster in my day, she would have been described in our culture as trying to "talk proper." It will be nice when we are able to view language in the manner suggested by Lindfors (1987).

Standard English or . . . dialect is a notion that gives trouble as (1) standard is so variously defined and (2) the term suggests that there is some preferred "correct" variety of English and deviations from this variety are inferior. But we know that no dialect is inherently superior to or more "correct" than any other; each variety of English (or any language) is simply an alternate way of expressing meaning . . . and no way is more or less effective than any other. (p. 396)

When Lindfors' view, as shared in Children's Language and Learning, is more universally accepted, maybe ridicule and teasing about speech will decrease or become nonexistent among my grandchildren and other groups.

Other responses regarding dialect or standard English were shared as shown in the following excerpts.

Chyna (teenager): "I like to speak both standard and black English because it is natural for me. People will think I am an oreo or a 'wanna be' [if I speak standard English]."

Wynter (teenager): "I studied at a Jewish academy most of my life, and I have been called an oreo, Valley girl, and other names because I speak a certain way. During the past two years, I have been in a public school, so I tried to

speak black English a lot. Now I speak the way that is comfortable and natural for me. I feel better this way."

Will (teenager): "I speak both standard English and dialect because that's the way I am."

Kyris (teenager): "I speak black dialect because I know where I come from. Standard English is like an act, i.e., when I am with my friends, it's black dialect, but with teachers and administrators, it's standard English."

These excerpts indicate that children have a variety of concepts and rationales regarding language usage. A few are comfortable with their language patterns and themselves, viewing it as natural to speak both standard English and black English interchangeably. Others don't want to be labeled. The stigma placed on individuals regarding their speech can be related to societal problems in our nation. When students feel that it is necessary to speak one way in a particular setting and differently in another, it creates, in my opinion, a high level of vacillation in one's life. It is obvious that this pattern exists across the generations in our family. There is a difference between speaking a certain way and feeling comfortable with that speech and speaking according to the degree of pressure and teasing one fears he or she will experience. All of the generations in our family need, first, to understand why we have the experiences and attitudes regarding language that

we do. If we are uncomfortable with our speech, we need to ask why and begin to search for answers wherever we can.

History and Usage in the United States

I will briefly share what I view as the root of the problem that members of my family and culture have with the English language. The importance of language for human survival and as a map for charting our lives cannot be overemphasized. "Language is the key to human survival . . . and our map for charting what is happening inside and outside our skins. When the map is inaccurate and inappropriate, our chances of survival are decreased" (Postman, Weingartner, & Moran, 1969, p. ix).

Information about blacks and their language is usually written by those outside the black community. Background information about black speech does not always include the cruel history regarding how members of this group originally became English speakers. Historically, black English speakers in the United States have experienced a harsh linguistic background, beginning with the language contact situation.

Slave owners were afraid of insurrection, so slaves were deliberately separated and, therefore, were unable to speak their native language. Stemming from that harsh and unfair language contact, issues regarding our speech have continued to plague us and to place us in paradoxical

situations since slavery. Society, particularly educational institutions, has not been sensitive to the sociolinguistic history of black English speakers. This lack of sensitivity also applies to blacks and has served as a deterrent to our coming to terms with the impact of this history on our cultural, social, and educational processes in this country. During the process of this family study, I have become keenly aware of the familial effects this insensitivity has had on members of our family. Candi's problem with her speech (standard English) is not acceptable to her siblings. Others (Wynter and Kyriss) change their speech according to who they are with or where they attend school. This awareness motivated me to write more than I intended about language for this phase of the study, but my hope is that my grandchildren and others who read this dissertation will do further research regarding the history of our language situation in American schools and society. Language plays an important role in human lives and the society in which we live.

Language usage is also intertwined with the basic processes of reading and writing, and the following data describe the individual perspectives of the initial reading and writing processes of the same three siblings who had problems with teasing based on their choices of language. Their responses to "How did you learn to read and write?"

and "How old were you when you began reading?" are listed below. Most of the fourth generation learned to read when they were approximately six years old. Two were between five and six, and one was between three and four when they learned to read.

Chyna: "Mother read to me every day. I learned to read at age three or four years."

Candi: "First I learned my alphabet from Monica, my babysitter, after attending Headstart every day. I learned to read some at five years old. My mom bought me Hooked on Phonics later, and I learned to read good by third grade."

Richard: Phonics helped me to learn to read. I went to Headstart for three years. Great head start!!

Eugene, at age 10, declares that he is an excellent reader and has always been. His grades confirm this. He does not remember how or when he learned to read. He also attended a Jewish academy with his sister Wynter for many years. He does not like the public school he attends now. It is interesting to note that Chyna, who learned to read earlier than any of the grandchildren, indicated that she first learned the alphabet. Her experience with learning to read at an early age coincides with Goodman's research (as cited in Smitherman, 1981) which showed that kids who achieved in reading knew the alphabet, and kids who did not achieve tended not to know the alphabet. Goodman's

conclusion was "teach the kids the alphabet and they will learn to read" (p. 186). Alex, the youngest of our grandchildren, is only one year old, but her brother Matthew, age four, attends a Seventh Day Adventist preschool. His parents report that he does exceptionally well in school. The following concept, which was included in one of the school's newsletters (March 1995), may contribute to this ability to achieve at an early age. "We are teaching the children to become empowered by using their words to solve situations. Please help us to promote these attributes" (p. 1).

Eheje, our Nigerian/African American grandchild, is five years old. His favorite words are "I can do it," and usually he can. Eheje described (via telephone) his home and school experiences.

What I like about school is computer, free choice--where you get to play with everything--and art too. That's it.

My teacher helps me when we have to do hard work like making flowers with paper and stuff, and I messed up, meaning cause I needed to trace them [the flowers] in place. It was hard.

I am out of school now because my leg is broken cause my friend played too rough with me. I can't walk. I just scoot around on my butt, but

me so lucky. Me get everything. Me get this. Me
get that--like flowers, balloons, and ice cream.

Me get everything.

Eheje's speech changed, according to his mother, and he began substituting the pronoun me for I since he broke his leg and is not able to be mobile (walk). He devised his own method of mobility by "scooting around on his butt" as described in his own "voice."

Changing one's speech pattern (as Eheje did) can be viewed as healthy when the decision is not based on fear of being labeled or ridiculed. Such fear often stems from race-related issues as other societal norms which need to be recognized, acknowledged, and reckoned with, particularly by black speakers. It may help to remember Lindfor's (1987) suggestion that "Each variety of English . . . is simply an alternative way of expressing meaning . . . and no way is more or less effective than any other" (p. 274).

Conclusion

Chapter 4 concludes with an overview of the fourth generation of this family study. Members of this generation are ages 5 through 18. The youngest is in kindergarten, and the oldest attends college. Each shared experiences related primarily to school, language, and religion. Their discussion regarding stereotypical language revealed that discriminatory practices including stereotypical language

exist inside and outside the classroom. The religious discussions indicated that members of the fourth generation (my grandchildren) have views of religion ranging from being very religious to nonreligious. The varying views may stem from their diverse backgrounds. Their parents' (my children's) religious affiliations have included Mormonism, Buddhism, and Judaism during their adulthood. Their religious background is Protestant. My husband is a retired Methodist minister.

The religious (or nonreligious) beliefs of the fourth generation can be viewed as one example of the differences that exist among families. The first and second generations grew up in a small community where church and school were the major sources of activities for blacks. The third generation (as they reach their 30s and 40s) are more closely associated with religious institutions. In reference to the younger children, Black Families at the Crossroads shows that "an entire generation of teenagers and young adults are slipping from the reach of their families and traditional help systems. For the first time in Black history, a generation of unchurched youths are emerging" (Staple & Johnson, 1993). Parents and grandparents are concerned about the younger generation in our family. We, like most families, are a determined people, and the well-being of our children is a top priority in our lives. The

narrated stories of the first, second, and third generations for this family obtaining that goal requires the efforts and support of individuals, families, churches, and schools. Maintaining the family is an important aspect of sustaining our society. We must work together to make a better society for our children's future.

Findings

This family research study can be viewed as an important contribution to education and society. It attempts to bring stories not yet heard to the attention of the academy.

Family research seemingly encourages more blacks to write about their experiences and to share the historical and cultural knowledge that they were more-or-less ashamed of before (Blockman & Fry, 1977; Hopson & Hopson, 1990; Taulbert, 1989; Whyte, 1984).

One aspect of this family's history is legal segregation and, later, the experience of desegregation and integration. The research literature relating to the systems of segregation, desegregation, and integration has guided and assisted me in analyzing and compiling information about my family's background experiences. This information can provide to the literature an "inside" view of the experiences and factors that contribute to the successes and failures of blacks in the United States. The

major concern about the undertaking of this intergenerational study is the issue of "how to tell the story" (Brodkey, 1987, p. 25). Presenting the facts is important, but retaining rapport and confidentiality are also critical. I agree with Cuba and Lincoln's (1989) views in Fourth Generation Evaluators. These authors suggest that "inasmuch as an evaluation involves humans, it is incumbent on the evaluator to interact with these humans in a manner respecting their dignity, their integrity and their privacy" (p. 238).

Intergenerational research seems to be limited. Hagestad (1983), a researcher in this domain, suggests that in order to understand multi-generational family units, we need to explore new research strategies. Intergenerational research can be valuable for enhancing family living today and for generations to come.

Summary and Conclusions

During one of our annual family reunions, I proposed that we develop a theme for the acronym SOS called "Support Our Strengths." As mentioned earlier, I suggested that family members promote this theme through exemplary behavior today so that by the time the children of the fifth generation become adults, they will automatically be knowledgeable about the value of maintaining this practice

for their positive growth and development and encouraging the practice for future generations.

In the meantime, we should continue to tell family-related stories from generation to generation in order to help motivate each generation to strive to "do better" than the previous one. This trend is highlighted in the compilation of responses, particularly from the first and second generations of our family, who indicated that despite extreme poverty, racism, and other barriers, the second generation did, to a degree, "do better" than the first both educationally and economically.

Another interesting finding from this family study was that none of us indicated to what extent our lives were impacted by my parents' divorce. I acknowledged that it interfered with my educational process, and my mother marked "divorced" on her questionnaire. My mother is the only member of the family who is satisfied with her marital status. The rest of the family, including my father, always wished that they would remarry.

When our parents divorced during the 1950s, they did not talk to us about it. It was a painful experience for all of us. Today, more than 40 years later, family members choose not to acknowledge the profound negative effect it continues to have on our lives.

Research by Clark (1983) validates that "families are often hurt, embarrassed and ashamed about the circumstances of their home life. A very telling indication of the serious problems these families have is their general disinclination to talk about their lives" (p. 143). This family study may enable us to improve in this area.

Awareness of this tendency toward the denial of negative experiences within my family guided me to review responses to Question 9 of the pilot survey (Appendix A), which asked respondents to "Identify and discuss aspects of family living that have influenced your education positively and negatively. What motivated you to seek a college education? Who influenced your educational process?" It provides what may be the most enlightening information regarding the respondents' success or failure in school.

A review of the compiled responses also indicated that many members of the family experienced extreme economic hardships. Segregation was an integral part of their daily existence. Our father was often unemployed. There was not a job market for men in our community, and our mother had to work despite having so many children to nurture and care for. Our father's presence in the home was an invaluable asset. After the divorce, his absence had an adverse effect on the family structure. For example, the youngest daughter dropped out of school. This was viewed as deviant behavior

for females in the family. The four older girls had not only completed high school but had obtained advanced degrees.

This family's survival depended on a hierarchy whereby older siblings always shared with the younger ones. When the oldest daughter was a senior in college, the second daughter left the university and worked for a year to support herself through graduation. The two older sons dropped out of high school to contribute to the family income by joining military service.

We were all aware of the responsibilities and hardships our mother faced; therefore, we shared, but we complained, especially about those who were in college. Our father often appeared to be overwhelmed and displeased about having so many children in college. In fact, his pride seemingly emerged only after we all became adults.

The attitudes and behavior of the black male parent are powerful. In many black families of past and present generations, problems appear to be related to fathers. English professor Andrew Merton of the University of New Hampshire stated in an article in Essence Magazine ("Father Hunger," November 1990) that "the psychological or physical absence of fathers from their families is one of the great understated tragedies of our times" (p. 73). The Essence article also says that for millions of blacks, our

relationships with our fathers represent lifetimes of unfinished business. It emphasizes how these relationships can impact black children's educational process, stating that the success or failure of these children in school is often related to lack of nurturing parents, particularly fathers.

As the participating investigator for this study, I can affirm that our mother (first generation) was the motivating force for the children's (second generation) educational pursuits. She advocated education as a way to live more successful lives.

In Different and Wonderful: Raising Black Children in a Race-Conscious Society, Dr. Alvin Poussaint (as cited in Hopson & Hopson, 1990) states that

[If] our children are to succeed in an increasingly technological and white collar society, they must believe in themselves and their talents. They must be encouraged and supported in their efforts to achieve in school and in their adult lives. Black children must be taught that being black is not synonymous with failure and lack of home and accomplishment. (p. xvi)

The goal of the parents of the first and second generation families in this study coincides with Poussaint's beliefs.

These parents simply wanted to see each generation "do better" than their own parents.

Mack (1968), in Our Children's Burdens, writes about blacks and their dreams for their children.

Many American Negroes cling to the American dream, . . . cherish the idea that someday their children will make a big success. . . . As American citizens they want them to have a fair chance to compete for a share in the American way of life--a chance dependent upon equal educational opportunities. (p. 9)

The goals of the parents in each generation of this study coincide with Poussaint's (1990) and Mack's (1968) beliefs. Beginning with the patriarch and matriarch, each generation aspires to do what is best for their children. They want to see each generation "do better." An important finding in this study is related to the ingenious coping mechanisms of the second generation, particularly the males, in their efforts to "do better" than our parents. Whereas the females used education to improve our lives (each of us completed high school and attended college), three of the six males were high school dropouts. The question here is how can one best utilize ingenuity to drop out of schools?

The response to such a question is that my brothers did not leave school because they were disillusioned with the

educational system. They dropped out due to economic necessity, primarily because the family needed financial assistance to survive. What is important to note here is that these high school dropouts devised means to not only help themselves but to provide the necessary assistance for our family in the following manner.

The oldest son left school to join the CC Camp (Conservative Corp Camp) in order to earn money and, at the same time, learn a trade. The third son moved to another state, lived with relatives, worked, saved his money, and eventually went into business for himself. Later, the last dropout joined him. The other three sons did graduate from high school. One spent a year in college, and one received his degree.

My brother's work history is unique. In spite of "legal" segregation, limited education, and lack of access to employment opportunities, they did not fall into the "job-ceiling" syndrome that Ogbu (1983) predicts for blacks who drop out of school, give up, and ask, "What's the use in trying?" (p. 78). They were optimistic about their future and determined to work and become self-sufficient.

In The Strengths of Black Families, Hill (1971) writes that "this strength is characteristic of most black families, for contrary to popular conception, black families place a strong emphasis on work . . . and ambition. . . .

They do not have to be coerced to work" (pp. 9, 14). A contrasting view of blacks, particularly young black males, is described by Ogbu (1983). His research findings indicate that some blacks have given up and do not even look for work. Ogbu argues that such pessimism stems from what he theorizes to be the job ceiling and practices whereby "very consistent pressures and obstacles selectively assign minorities to jobs at low-level status. . . . These jobs require less schooling and yield lower returns for educational returns" (p. 9).

My brothers only worked for someone else for a short period of time. The two older dropouts were able to establish their own business, which allowed them to hire their brothers, relatives (my husband worked for them), and others. Only one (the college graduate) worked within the system, with only one job change until he retired. The brother with one year of college became an entrepreneur (clothing, furs, and diamonds). The youngest brother attended a religious college and became a minister. My brothers' ability to devise coping mechanisms to become self-reliant through business demonstrates that optimism, ingenuity, and determination can go a long way in overcoming great odds.

Ogbu's (1983) glass ceiling rationale regarding black high school dropouts does not apply to the second-generation

males in this study. Their decisions to leave school were, in my opinion, acts of courage not defeat. I admire them for their efforts and have appreciated their assistance. My views may be influenced because I benefitted from their decisions and actions. As one who is involved in educational and family research, I find that my personal knowledge often interferes with my ability to accept readily how the research literature describes black behavior (Moynihan & Glazer, 1963; Ogbu, 1983; Patterson, 1971).

I do agree with Ogbu's premise that good teaching and a good school environment help children to learn successfully. This applies to the schools which members of this family's first and second generations attended. Those who became totally disillusioned with school (and temporarily dropped out), namely, the two youngest daughters, were experiencing the newly implemented system of integration. Both of them returned to school, received diplomas, and attended college.

The females' educational history is different from the males in our family. We have achieved higher levels of education. Members of the third generation (six males and six females) were educated under the system of integration, yet their early years were spent in segregated schools with integrated teaching staffs and white principals. We lived in Los Angeles where the first black high school principal was hired many years after the 1954 Brown v. Board of

Education decision. Their educational process involved transferring across town to attend what we, their parents, viewed to be better schools. One was in a busing program and traveled approximately 50 miles round trip to school each day. The oldest child remained in the community schools through high school graduation, and the youngest attended private school during early school years. Our move to Santa Barbara, California, during the early 1980s eliminated the problems we experienced with our older children. Our youngest son attended excellent schools, especially at the elementary level. Unfortunately, Santa Barbara had only three black teachers (one female and two males) at the secondary level before I taught there for a short time.

This third generation's (one male and two females) academic attainment record includes three degrees; two others are in college. The oldest son dropped out of college at the end of his first year.

We find that the parents of the fourth generation are continuing the tradition of struggling to provide a quality education for their children (my grandchildren). It is unsettling to experience the impact of segregation that is prevalent in our schools. Segregation, though not legal, exists in our nation's schools because of housing patterns which are influenced by the parents' economic status.

Some of today's parents in our family are opting to send their children to private schools. They admit that it creates an economic hardship, but it seems to be the only solution to their concerns about their children's education and future lives. Each generation continues to strive to meet the challenge of enhancing their children's educational opportunities for success. Different methods are utilized to meet this challenge.

Differential school success is determined by economics and one's ability to address issues related to the discriminatory policies and practices in our nation's schools and society. An abundance of research (e.g., Clark, 1983; Comer & Poussiant, 1976; Hopson & Hopson, 1990; Mack, 1968; Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines, 1988) shows that respectful home and school relations are important components of students' school success.

Economic circumstances help determine how parents view themselves and interact with their children. Discrimination in our nation is also a strong factor in the lives of black people and was frequently alluded to by subjects in this family study. If we, as a race, have survived slavery and segregation and maintained a sense of self-worth and accomplishments despite the debilitating effects of those experiences, it is possible to utilize our inherent strengths to improve our situation today.

The loss of traditional values is one area of concern that was expressed by both older and younger family members in this study. The influence of the church seems to be what most view as one of the primary sources of help for enhancing family living.

Restoring the attitudes and traditions that have sustained blacks in the past will not be an easy feat. In an Ebony article (March 1990), "The Way We Were," Alex Haley wrote, "You can't legislate what needs to be done. It has to happen in households. Each father, mother, and child has to say we are going to change this family for the better" (p. 160). Poussaint (as cited in Haley, 1990) agreed, stressing that

Families need all the help they can get from schools, churches, professionals, social clubs, community groups and other institutions to counter the negative influence of society. This negativism is prevalent in most of our schools, therefore it is imperative for black parents to monitor and participate in their children's educational process at home and school. The school's competing demands influence black children's academic achievement, and it is mandatory that parents interact with teachers and become informed about their attitudes and the

activities of policy makers and policy issues. These efforts can help our children to develop a strong sense of self-worth as they strive to compete and excel in school and in society. (p. 116)

Implications

The implications from this study have relevance for families, education, and society. The study can contribute to family research literature and encourage families to seek knowledge about their heritage, history, and traditions. Knowledge of this sort tends to promote self-esteem, family cohesiveness, and inter-family cooperation.

Information from this study can also provide guidelines for families to evaluate their cultural, social, and educational experiences as well as the impact of these experiences on family members' successes and failures. In addition, this study can encourage black families and other groups to view their familial experiences as being valuable and interesting enough to share. Researching and writing our family histories are important endeavors and can make valuable contributions to educational research literature and society. These endeavors can enable families to review their past and make informed decisions about their present and future lives.

Data from the study indicate that more than four decades after the Supreme Court's Brown vs. the Board of Education decision, the third, fourth, and fifth generations of my family are continuing to experience inequality and segregation. This implies that lack of equal educational opportunities continues to impede the progress of blacks in school and society. Jaynes and Williams (1989) concur that (1) segregation and differential treatment of blacks continue to be widespread in schools, (2) blacks do not share equal authority and representation throughout desegregated organizations and institutions in American society, and (3) barriers and disadvantages persist in blocking black achievement.

Another important implication from this study of a five-generational family is the value of highlighting the strengths as well as the weaknesses within the black family structure. This information can contribute to increasing society's awareness of the stable, caring, and law-abiding black families that are not included in research studies on an equal basis with not-so-positive black characteristics.

Copeland and White (1991) contend that "the family is a crucible in which individual development, group behavior, and society intersect" (p. vii). They state that the goal of their book, Family Studies, is to provide concise

treatment of the special issues and problems relating to research on families.

It is my opinion that family research should include family members' perspectives on their cultural, social, and educational experiences. Family research literature can help improve home and school relationships by promoting a higher level of awareness and acceptance of cultural diversity within our society. Correlating students' cultures, backgrounds, and experiences with educational goals can enhance understanding and improve relationships among the many different cultural groups in America. Family research literature can contribute to positive changes in American society, thus enabling our nation to move into the 21st century under a system of unprecedented equal opportunities for all its citizens.

If all participants in this study (adults and children) were optimistic and content with their lives, this study may not have evolved. Each generation has indicated that there is a need to evaluate our current status, individually and collectively as a family, to determine how to address and resolve some of the impacting issues in our lives.

At our 1994 annual family reunion, I made my usual request for input regarding our strengths and weaknesses and achievements and failures from family members for this

study. One teenager's touching response to the request stated,

Grandmother, I feel that it starts from the home. My generation sometimes gets into drugs, gangs, and all that. Our parents need to straighten us out and make us go to church. I hate to see young people die when they can live and become somebody in their lives.

Another (a 10-year-old) wrote,

I love the family reunion. I get to see all the generations each year. I live in Middle America, and I miss my grandparents and entire family. The family has good--but some brothers and sisters seem to hate each other. I want to be treated fairly. I see uncles and aunts who are not close. It makes me cry. My great uncles and aunts are very good to me. I don't see my cousins much.

These young voices may be exactly what is needed to encourage individual family members who identify with the above prescribed behavior to acknowledge and address these expressed concerns by changing their attitudes and behavior. Such actions can contribute to enhancing familial relationships, and the 10-year-old writer will not have to cry about these issues any more. In Growing Up Literate (Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines, 1988), it was stated, "We cannot

tell the story as the family would tell it themselves" (p. 202), which is also the premise of this investigator. Each revelation in this study further convinces me that "voice," individually and collectively, is invaluable for transmitting messages from generation to generation.

The fourth generation for this family study described how tests affected their schooling and made them feel about themselves. Several did indicate that their problem with tests stemmed from lack of studying. Two respondents do not have any problem with regular class tests or standardized testing. Other comments were "I don't test very high on tests so I feel dumb and stupid," "Tests make me feel terrible," "Tests make up half my grades; they determine whether I pass or fail."

The teenaged members of the fourth generation have some specific ideas about different aspects of their lives. When asked, "What do you need at home and at school to help you achieve?," their responses were, again, varied. "A computer to help me." "Encyclopedias." "People who care." "Tutors to help and advise me. [Later] "Today I have a tutor. I also have Hooked on Phonics." "Friends."

The next question (21) asked "Who and what interferes with your school work?" Responses included "Fights in school distract me. I lose my concentration." "Boring teachers." "I allow my friends to interfere with doing my

assignments." "I get asthma attacks sometimes. I have to make up a lot of stuff." Question 22 asked "Who/What motivates you to do well in school?" Responses included "I want to do well [self-motivated]." "Parents motivate me. I don't want to let them down." "Parents and grandparents because they are the ones who care for me." "I got to do well [determination]; some teachers motivate me."

Religion

The children of the fourth generation have parents with very diverse religious backgrounds, including the Protestant, Mormon, and Buddhist religions. To learn more about how religious diversity can affect one's beliefs, a more in-depth investigation is needed than is possible for this dissertation study. Most respondents stated in response to Survey Item 4 that religion affected their lives "very little." Other responses included "Religion influences my life very much. I attend church and sing in the choir when mom doesn't work on the weekend. God is good to me." Another simply said, "I love the Lord."

Two grandchildren are Jewish (Reformed). They were active at their local school/temple in California, but there is not one in the area where they are living temporarily. The following dialogue describes my grandson Eugene's enthusiasm about his religion. When he was five or six years old, we were walking in his neighborhood one day and

passed a gentleman wearing a skullcap (a similar cap worn by male Jews). My grandson asked, "Are you Jewish?" The man smiled and responded with "Yes, I am." The child in turn said, "I am too." With a pleasantly surprised expression on his face, the elderly gentleman replied, "God bless you, son. Bless you."

Evidently, my granddaughter Wynter had some concerns about acceptance at the Jewish school when they began classes there. She wrote to me, "Dear Grandma, I love you very much. I went up to my school up in Belair. It was very nice up there. But do you think Jewish kids will get along with me? Well, I hope I do." Those concerns passed, and Wynter spent many enjoyable years in that academic environment.

Whatever their religious preferences, the black family has historically relied on religion as one of its sources of strength, fellowship, and inspiration. The fourth generation's varying views of religion and their religious affiliations are other examples of the intracultural diversity that has been prevalent within the black population since slavery. According to Johnson (1977), "the black family had its genesis in black religion. The two were "born" in slavery, weaned in segregation, and matured in desegregation" (p. 41). Johnson proclaimed that "The times are calling for a reuniting of the two [church and

family] in order to do what neither can do alone--maintain and sustain the black family as a viable and stable entity in our society" (p. 41).

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

"The process of sustaining and maintaining the family" (Johnson, 1977, p. 41) and "finding ways to make the family's paths easier" (Novak, 1979, p. 21) for its members as they seek to achieve in American society present challenges in our nation. These challenges involve addressing all of the issues and concerns identified at the beginning of this family study--diminishing family solidarity, domestic violence, the rising divorce rate, an increasing number of working mothers, latch-key children, lack of affordable health care, teenaged pregnancies, drugs, school drop outs, and ongoing violence are some of the many concerns and problems faced by American families. Varying views regarding how to address and resolve these problems effectively were discussed throughout this study.

The literature revealed that some minority groups in our multi-ethnic, multilingual, multicultural nation are faced with the aforementioned concerns, in addition to other problems in our schools and society. These problems are related to societal ills which have impacted these groups (some to a greater degree than others) since their initial

contact experiences in America. Rabinowitz (1994) suggested in Race, Ethnicity, and Urbanization that "we cannot begin to understand the history of one minority group without knowing the history of others" (p. 243). For that reason, this black family study includes a research-based overview of families from various cultures, namely, Anglos, Asian-Americans, Hispanics, Jewish Americans, and Native Americans. Research findings indicate that each group, whatever the past and present experiences of its members, has continued to aspire to succeed in school and society and to become a part of the American Dream (Hutter, 1988; Queen & Haberstein, 1967; Smith, 1987; Zinn, 1990). Most groups have viewed education as the avenue for achieving that dream (Abrams, 1985; Bayme & Rosen, 1994; Sternberg, 1991).

Some of the major barriers to achieving success in America are discriminatory attitudes and practices in schools and society. Again, some groups have been subjected to such practices to a greater extent than others. Hutter's (1988) study discusses factors that help to determine the levels of success achieved by different groups in America. His findings indicated that "It is prejudices and biases . . . along with the effects of social, political, cultural, and economic discrimination that affect these ethnic groups" (p. 139).

Given the commonalities among the different ethnic groups in America, i.e., their experiences with discrimination (racial, religious, ethnic, or linguistic), I tend to agree with Martinez (as cited in Kromkowski, 1993), who admonishes us to remember that "There is more to racism than black and white" (p. 139), and with Smith (1987), who declares that "The differences in levels of success among Americans can be attributed to the unequal access to . . . society's income . . . on account of race" (p. 64).

Although I am inclined to agree with Martinez (as cited in Kromkowski, 1993), realizing that race is not just between blacks and whites, I can even more readily relate to the words of Thomas Payne (as cited in Neidles, 1967), "Some become more successful and others never overcome their hardships" (p. 17). The latter quote by Payne best typifies and describes the masses of the black population in America, and it is to that ethnic group that participants in this family study belong. Overcoming hardships continues to be a part of our daily lives. Our history helps to explain the reasons. The manner in which blacks have historically been viewed and treated in America has always had a stigma attached to it. During slavery, slaves were not even human (Zinn, 1990).

White Americans [have] traditionally taken the position that Blacks [are] profoundly different

from them not only physically but also culturally and behaviorally--and that difference was equated with inferiority. Colonial America saw that difference and used it to justify the oppressive subjugation of Blacks. (Chimezie, 1984), p. 89)

In The Negro and His Needs (Patterson, 1971), which was first published in 1911, it was determined that

According to the judgement of those who have most consciously studied the Negro, it is unfair to even consider the black man in America except always in the light of the fact that the most enlightened representatives of his race are only a few generations away from actual barbarianism.

. . . When one begins to analyze this extreme condition, it is at once easy to see, aside from race prejudice, that the Negro is no better or worse than any other savage. (pp. 24-25)

When this book was first published almost a century ago, United States President William Taft wrote the foreword stating that he and Patterson had been classmates at Yale University. He described Patterson as being "earnest and conscientious, a close observer who possessed a judicial mind, and it manifested itself in his treatment of what he saw" (p. 7).

It is my view that this book and the President's description of the author can be considered representative of historical elements (literary and political) of American society that have contributed to the status of blacks since their involuntary migration to America during the early 1600s. This was the beginning of black and white relations in this country. Patterson (1971) predicted that the "adjustment of the relations between the black race and the whites in America cannot be a matter of years, or even of generations, but of centuries" (p. 9).

With this aspect of his study, I wholeheartedly agree. The history of these relations needs to first be acknowledged, analyzed, and discussed rationally to decipher what avenues can be undertaken and traveled in order for black families to move above the level of "striving to overcome." Our descendants deserve to have the opportunity to "do better" than past and present generations. It is our (the family's) responsibility to develop and implement thoroughfares to enable present and future generations, especially our children, to become all that they are capable of being.

Comer and Poussaint (1976) express the views of most black parents. This is the premise of their book, Black Child Care. These successful black men believe that black children should be able to go in any direction their intelligence and skills will take them.

The following recommendations are included as one means of assisting members of black families, specifically the children in the family being studied, to choose the direction that leads to success in school and society.

Recommendations

"Family strengths are those traits which facilitate the ability of the family to meet the needs of its members, and the demands made upon it by systems outside the family unit" (Hill, 1972, p. 3).

The first recommendation is one I suggested to the family when the decision to study our history evolved, that is, SOS, meaning "Support our Strengths," of which there are many. Data from survey responses for this family study indicate that, first, we are a resilient and persistent people. We are products of what dad called "good stock." Our "living" history supports his theorem. For example,

1. The primary source of income for members of the first and second generations was derived from cotton picking and domestic work because those were the occupations to which we had access.
2. We survived deplorable living conditions, meaning that due to built-in barriers (social and economic) to basic necessities such as sanitary facilities (running water, toilet and bathroom) were inaccessible to our family.

3. Legal segregation mandated that we attend separate and unequal schools that provided a deficient education.
4. Public facilities were often not available, and those that were indicated that we were inferior by their signs marked "white" and "colored."
5. It was against the societal norm to enter the front door of the homes of whites. Movie theaters provided seating only in the balcony with a separate entrance for "colored" people.

In essence, only our schools and, in a sense, our churches were institutions where our behavior was not monitored, evaluated, or controlled by the laws of the land. Therefore, religion has traditionally been a part of the strength that exists among us. We need to remain keenly aware of our strengths and acknowledge and support them, individually and collectively. We have survived insurmountable obstacles. It is important for the third, fourth, and fifth, generations to have access to documented evidence of our strengths in the family history.

The following research-based recommendations can also guide and assist us as we continue to review our past. We can enhance our present lives by what we learn from the past as we strive to "do better" by aspiring to achieve success in the future. First, it needs to be understood that opposing circumstances can create a firm determination to

overcome all barriers and to let nothing hinder that process.

Berry and Asaman (1989) provide the formula for the process to achieve academic success.

The Black family must recognize that the student's first high school is the home, and that it must be responsible for the learning that takes place.

. . . It is imperative that ways be developed . . . that would enable parents from homes that are successful to assist families that have not reached that same level of successful functioning.

For the achievement of academic success, . . .

Black families and Black students must fully understand that learning is not an option--it is a mandate. . . . Without successful academic achievement the options of life are near zero.

(p. 149)

This message must be heralded in all quarters of black life. The family in its many forms is the focal point.

Intergenerational relationships are important for achieving and maintaining strong familial ties. Certain measures can be taken to ensure that such ties exist. Contact among family members can be face to face or indirect depending on the choices or circumstances of each individual. Mangen and Miller (as cited in Mangen,

Bergston, & Landry, 1987) provide a theoretical model of intergenerational association. Some of the suggestions offered are as follows:

Indirect Contact

1. Send cards or letters or telephone on birthdays or other special events.
2. Maintain contact to share confidences, discuss decisions, and "update the other."

Face-to-Face Contact

1. Family gatherings (large or small) on holidays or other special family events.
2. Attend religious service together.
3. Get together to share meals, discuss decisions, or confide in each other. (p. 100)

Mangen (1987) states that "Very little research has to this time examined the indirect mode of contact as a technique of facilitating continued contact when geographic distance is great" (p. 100). He suggests that this may, in fact, represent one of the strengths of the American family.

A family's primary source of strength comes from intra-familial relationships, those of parents or a parent and children. According to Rodgers-Rose (1980),

One of the most complex and pressing issues in the struggle for black survival is centered in and

grows out of the relationship between men and women. This relationship determines how they support each other as men and women and how they will raise their children. (p. 125)

Love and respect between parents is one of the best gifts they can give to each other and their children. Such attributes can enhance levels of self-esteem and increase motivation to achieve and succeed.

It is important that black parents continue to pass on to their children values for effective living and a quest for formal education. According to Staples and Boudin Johnson (1993), "Black parents have been often criticized for 'saying one thing' and 'doing another.' There is ample research guidance to show that Blacks' aspirations for their children exceed their expectations" (p. 175). Yet, statistics in Staples et al.'s (1993) study Black Families at the Crossroads show that 25 years ago, three-quarters of black college students came from homes in which family members had no college education. In 1985, the family income of more than half of black college students was under \$20,000, attesting to the willingness of parents to sacrifice financially for their children's education. It also reveals the high level of motivation of black students. I am in agreement with Staples et al.'s recommendation that black parents transmit to their children the realities of

living in a society that is hostile to black aspirations. All parents are challenged, conclude Staples et al., to prepare children to become productive citizens. Regardless of economic status, parents must strive to instill in their children enough self-reliance and self-esteem to confront life's challenges successfully.

When Peters (as cited in Staples & Boudin Johnson, 1993) asked black parents what the most important thing is that they give their children, material wealth was not mentioned. The values identified as essential ingredients for overcoming the harsh realities of being black in America were love and security and lifting each other as they climb. Many impoverished families generate these ingredients. Numerous successful blacks look back on their childhoods and realize that they were impoverished, yet they only realized the love and security that derived from laboring. Black love continues to be black wealth.

Black families have traditionally been able to transcend the harshness of impoverishment, discrimination, and other debilitating factors in their lives through the "wealth of love" provided by family members. Love for self and others is the prerequisite for a positive self-concept and self-esteem. These attributes can promote the enhancement of human emotions, behavior, and relationships,

not only within families but also generally in America's multi-ethnic, multilingual, and multicultural society.

According to Price (1982), "In human behavior emotion is more valuable than intellect" (p. 10). Educational institutions can be invaluable for fostering awareness of social conditions, overcoming poverty and racial discrimination, thus enabling one to transcend cultural, racial, and ethnic differences (Vontress, as cited in Price, 1982).

Another recommendation for this family study is that in the future, the United States' ultimate goal should be to focus on means (e.g., education and public policy) to promote the acceptance of cultural differences among members of the human species, regardless of their uniqueness, in our nation's schools and society. The challenge to our nation is to begin to strive diligently to at least lay the groundwork for equity in the areas of education and economics to enhance achievement and success. This can ensure full participation--for all its citizenry--in all aspects of American life.

The final recommendation is that given that black families view education as the way to achieve in school and society, the focus needs to be on access to quality education for students to improve the life chances and the educational opportunities of black families' school

improvement programs and to enhance the effectiveness of schools where blacks are in attendance. This is especially needed in black communities. Such schools will have effective leadership, e.g., a strong and caring principal (the same as the first generation in this study had in the leadership of Principal Dean James), a climate of care about children, expectations for children to achieve, teachers who are not only capable but caring, and an orderly but not rigid school atmosphere, as well as a curriculum committed first and foremost to basic skills and the monitoring of students' progress. This process should include input from student teachers and parents. A respectful and cooperative home and school relationship can also go a long way to improve the academic levels of black students.

These recommendations can contribute to the levels of achievement for this living five generation family as its members continue to "do better" in school and society.

APPENDIX A

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

SURVEY

A DESCRIPTIVE/ANALYTICAL STUDY: THE IMPACT OF
ASPECTS OF THEIR CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND EDUCATIONAL
EXPERIENCES ON A LIVING FIVE-GENERATION BLACK FAMILY IN THE
UNITED STATES, 1893-PRESENT

These survey questions will be used to interview members of a five-generation family for this research study. The purpose of the study is to analyze aspects of the family's cultural, social, and educational experiences, hopefully obtaining information to encourage and motivate students in the family to strive to achieve success in school and society. Note: Extra sheets are available for detailed answers.

1. When were you born? Check the appropriate category.
☐ 1890-1915
☐ 1916-1940
☐ 1941-1965
☐ 1966-1990
2. Which generation are you from?
1st ☐, 2nd ☐, 3rd ☐, 4th ☐, 5th ☐
3. What is your marital status?
Single ☐ Married ☐ Separated ☐ Divorced ☐
4. Do you have children?
Yes ☐ No ☐ If yes, how many?
5. What is the population of your home town (Borg & Gill, 1989)?
☐ Rural, unincorporated
☐ Incorporated, under 1,000
☐ 1,000-2,500
☐ 2,501-5,000
☐ 5,001-10,000
☐ 10,001-50,000
☐ 50,001-250,000
☐ over 250,000

6. Name the state in which you were born _____
7. Place a check by the appropriate category to estimate your annual income bracket.
- ___ Below \$10,000
___ \$10,000-\$20,000
___ \$20,001-\$30,000
___ \$30,001-\$40,000
___ \$40,001-\$50,000
___ Above \$50,000
8. To what degree has religion influenced your life?
Very much ___, Moderately ___, Very Little ___
Explain (optional)
9. When did you begin school? Year _____ Age _____
10. Indicate level of elementary/secondary education completed.
- Elementary grade completed _____
Secondary education completed _____
11. Check level of higher education completed.
- Years completed:
- 1 ___, 2 ___, 3 ___, 4 ___, more than 4 ___
12. Degrees obtained: _____, _____, _____
13. What motivated you to seek a college education? Who influenced your educational process (explain in detail)?
14. Was your education interrupted or stopped before completion? If yes, please explain.

15. Did you attend school under the systems of segregation?
_____ Integration? _____ Both? _____
16. How did segregation, desegregation, and/or integration affect your growth and development culturally, socially, or academically?
17. Did you participate in a busing program?
Yes ____ No ____ If yes, please describe the effects of that experience on your cultural, social, and academic activities.

Language is an integral part of our cultural, social, and academic experiences. The following questions are related to language acquisition and development, reading and writing skills, standard English, black dialect, and stereotypical language.

18. How did you learn to read and write? Describe each process.
19. Which of the following languages do you speak?
Standard English ____, Black Dialect ____, Both ____
20. Which language is spoken by your parents?
Standard English ____, Black Dialect ____, Both ____
21. Which language do your children speak?
Standard English ____, Black Dialect ____, Both ____
- Which do you prefer to have your children speak?
Standard English ____, Black Dialect ____, Both ____
- Please explain.
22. Have you been affected by stereotypical language?
Yes ____ No ____ If yes, give examples.

APPENDIX B

CALHOUN FAMILY REUNION AND 100th
BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION, 1993

CALHOUN FAMILY REUNION
&
100th
BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION
for
JOHN DOUGLAS CALHOUN SR.

June 4, 1993

MERIDIAN PLAZA HOTEL
2101 S. Meridian
Oklahoma City, Ok. 73108

BIRTHDAY, JUNE 4th

Gate One

TRIBUTE

Soft Music

PRAYER

-

Henry Flowers Sr.

WELCOME

-

Ronnie Calhoun

DINNER BUFFET

MASTER OF CEREMONY

Kevin L. Taylor

SONG

LIFT EVERY VOICE

PRESENTATION OF COMMENDATIONS
AND RESOLUTIONS

REFLECTIONS

Please limit to 3 minutes

Reverend Henry Calhoun - brother - Kansas

Willie Mae King - niece - California

EXPRESSIONS OF LOVE -

Siblings

Clayton Bryce

Tom Martha

Lorraine Erma

Abilene Miami

John Norma Jean

Marion Albert

SONG

Nora Knighton

DOOR PRIZES

SONG

I'LL FLY AWAY

REMARKS

HONOREE

BENEDICTION

BIOGRAPHY

Mr. John Douglas Calhoun, Sr. was born to the proud parents of Mr. Sandy Calhoun and Mrs. Symyra Roark Calhoun in Davidson, Texas on June 4, 1893.

He was the second child of ten children, the late Wiley, Hardee, David, Addie, Bernice, Bessie, and Mable. Survivors are Samuel and Henry.

Mr. Calhoun was baptized at a very early age. He joined Pilgrim Rest Baptist Church East Wynnewood.

He united in holy matrimony to Miss Mary Jane Rucker in 1921. To this union thirteen children were born. Seven sons; Clayton, Tommie Lee, John Jr., Bryce, Jessie, Joe Lewis and Marion Albert (Jerry). Two sons are deceased. Jessie and Joe Lewis. Six daughters; Lorraine, Abilene, Martha, Erma, Miami, and Norma Jean (Jeanie).

Mr. Calhoun is a World War I veteran, and is a 33rd Mason. He is an astute Bible Scholar, and has a sense of humor.

His church memberships include Second Community Baptist Church Buttonwillow, Calif. where he resided from the early fifties until 1986. He resided with his brother Wiley Calhoun and his wife Minnie. He returned to Wynnewood and reunited with Mt. Carmel Baptist where he is currently a Pioneer Member.

He has 53 grandchildren, 101 great grandchildren and 18 great great grandchildren and many nieces, nephews and cousins.

We honor our father tonight and thank God for his longevity.

God Bless You Dad!

For the Lord is Good;
His Mercy is Everlasting; and His Truth
Endureth to all Generations. Psa. 100:5

Gate One

TALENT SHOW

Friday June 4, 1993

9:00 p.m.

- DISCO -

Saturday 10a.m. - June 5th, 1993
Mary Jane Calhoun and Men
Financial Seminar

Saturday June 5th

Family Picnic

12p.m.

Yukon Park
2200 S. Holly Ave.
Yukon, Okla. 73099
405 354-8442

MARY JANE CALHOUN, MOTHER

MOM,

WE SALUTE YOU. IF IT WEREN'T FOR YOU WE WOULDN'T BE.

MAY GOD CONTINUE TO BLESS AND KEEP YOU.

WE THANK YOU FOR YOUR LOVE, YOUR FRIENDSHIP, YOUR
UNDERSTANDING AND FOR ALWAYS BEING THERE FOR US.

WE LOVE YOU! ALL YOUR CHILDREN.

WHO CAN FIND A VIRTUOUS WOMAN?

FOR HER PRICE IS FAR ABOVE RUBIES.

PROV. 31:10

Dearest Daddy,

Our prayer for you!

"Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful.

But his delight is in the law of the Lord; and in his law doth he meditate day and night.

And he shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth his fruit in his season; his leaf also shall not wither; and whatsoever he doeth shall prosper."

Psalms 1:1-3

We Love You,

All eleven of your children

FAMILY REUNION HISTORY

CALHOUN FAMILY REUNION

Brief History

In 1971 Abilene Calhoun Matthews organized and started what was the beginning of the Calhoun Family Reunion in Buttonwillow, California.

From 1971 until 1977 the reunions were held in and around Los Angeles, California or Wynnewood, Oklahoma.

In 1980 the first well organized reunion convened in Portland, Oregon with hotel accomodations [sic], scheduled agendas, etc. That reunion was a real good starter and was followed by great reunions in Sacramento, California - Wichita, Kansas - Gainsville, Texas - Oklahoma City, Oklahoma - Denver, Colorado - Tucson, Arizona.

One of our better reunions was held at the Great Arbuckle Mountains Resort (which was quite a treat for the children and adults).

After the Tucson, Arizona reunion it was decided to hold a reunion every year in Oklahoma since our parents reside there.

So here we are again in 1993 kicking it off at the Meridan [sic] Plaza Hotel in Oklahoma City, with a combined 100th Birthday Celebration for the oldest Calhoun Family

Member; our dad, grand dad, great grand dad, great great
grand dad, uncle and friend - John Douglas Calhoun Sr.

WE SALUTE YOU AND YOUR GOLDEN YEARS!

"FOR THE LORD IS GOOD
 HIS MERCY IS EVERLASTING;
 AND HIS TRUTH ENDURETH TO ALL
 GENERATIONS.

SUNDAY JUNE 6, 1993
 WORSHIP 10:30a.m. - 12:30p.m.

PRAYER	-	Tommie Calhoun
SCRIPTURE	-	John D. Calhoun Jr.
SONG	-	Abeline Matthews
TESTIMONIES	-	(Victory Sharing) 3 minutes
SONG	-	Calhoun Sisters

BRINGING THE WORDS OF LIFE (10 minutes)

- (a) Rev. Henry Calhoun Sr.
- (b) Rev. William Battiest
- (c) Rev. Titus Calhoun
- (d) Rev. Marion Albert Calhoun
- (e) Rev. Frank Washington
- (f) Rev. Terrell Calhoun

SONG	-	The Lord's Prayer Clayton Calhoun Sr.
------	---	--

BENEDICTION		Rev. Frank Washington
-------------	--	-----------------------

BANQUET PROGRAM

BANQUET BRUNCH

WELCOME - Richard McCarver

INTRODUCTION OF MASTER OF CEREMONY -
Tracy Calhoun

MASTER OF CEREMONY - John Calhoun III

PRAYER AND BLESSING OF FOOD
Oliver W. Taylor Sr.

DINNER

SOLO

EXPRESSIONS - (Whatever is on your heart) 2 minutes

RECOGNITIONS - 1992-1993 Weddings
Anniversaries
Graduations
June Birthdays
New Births

PRESENTATIONS - Door Prizes

1994 CHAIRPERSON SELECTION

COMMITTEES

Oliver Sr. and Norma J. Taylor	National Chairpersons
Clayton Jr. and Marcia Calhoun	Banquet Chairpersons
Lorraine C. Wagner	Treasurer
Abilene and Michael Matthews	Family Historian
Bryce and Mable Calhoun	
Nora Knighton	Talent

CAPTAINS

Miami Flowers #1
 Jerry and Faye Calhoun
 Tommie and Annie Calhoun
 William and Martha Battiest
 Patricia Kofi
 Adrienne Lynn Taylor

CO-CAPTAINS

Miami Flowers #2
 Beverly Ann Battiest - Knawanka
 John and Priscilla Calhoun
 Clayton Calhoun III - Tim
 Patricia Turner

GRAPHIC

Steven and Ju Juan Morris

Special Thanks to Gwendolyn Walker
 The Meridian Plaza Hotel
 and
 The State of Oklahoma

APPENDIX C

A DESCRIPTION OF MY HOMETOWN, WYNNEWOOD, OKLAHOMA,
AND ITS NEGRO POPULATION

A DESCRIPTION OF MY HOMETOWN, WYNNEWOOD, OKLAHOMA,
AND ITS NEGRO POPULATION

The Negro people have played an important part in the development of Wynnewood.

A number of Negro families lived with the Indians before statehood. A good portion of these families came here on Freed allotments, and their children now make up a good portion of our present Negro population.

Hopewell was the first Negro community and organized the first church. Later Big Wood community was settled. These communities were near the present site of Wynnewood. Many families moved to Wynnewood from these communities. Albert and Nettie Lewis were the first settlers moving from Big Woods to Wynnewood. A Mr. Graves organized the Big Woods Movement, and many more families moved into Wynnewood. Some of the first Negro settlers in Wynnewood were the Smiths, Allens, Russells, Pattons, Loves, Eastmans, Blues, Cochrans, Vaughans, Wileys, Mitch Wrights, Goodwins, Coxs, Douglasses, Sparks, McKinneys, Ruckers (my maternal grandparents), and Rev. Gill.

The first Negro school in the territory was taught in Hopewell Church by two white ladies, Mrs. Hyde and Mrs. Boles. Later a Negro Academy called "Bethesda Mission" was established in 1905 by two white ladies, Miss E. Fanny Johnson and Miss Crawford. This was a territorial school, although it was financed by the families of this community. It was a boarding and a day school. Trustees were Dixie Smith, Sr., Steven Allen, Zack Allen, George Wiley, and Monroe Smith. As pupils graduated, they were sent East to higher educational schools. The school was destroyed by a storm in the 20s, and Miss Johnson was injured. She later died in the Hopewell Church. Negro men teachers in the school were Parker and Buchanon.

Brown Springs was built soon after an academy was built at Hopewell, and it was a public school. Other Negro rural public schools were Pleasant Hill, Pilgrim Rest, and Rock Elementary. These were in or near the Big Woods community. The first schools were always in the local churches, and later buildings were built to house them.

The first Negro school in Wynnewood was taught by Thomas Drake. It was taught in a church until 1904 when a two-room building was built on the location of the Lincoln

Separate School grounds. The school was first called Douglas. The principals of this school have been J. H. Gresham (1904-1913), R. T. James (1913-1918), and L. M. Jordon (1918-1920, poor health forced him to quit). C. A. Totton was principal of the Lincoln High School when the brick building was constructed. He resigned in 1939 and was followed by Dean James, who remained with the schools until 1956. Many dedicated teachers have given unselfishly of themselves; two of these will always be remembered. Mrs. Hattie Clark started teaching in Wynnewood in 1915 and taught until integration in 1956. Mrs. Laurena Jordon taught in and around Wynnewood from 1920 until the school was closed in 1956. Other teachers were G. A. Henyon, Professor Kirkpatrick, Grace Alexander, Henry Bufford, Iva James, Abilene Calhoun Matthews, Oline M. Richardson, Linell Evans Nolen, Venoy Green, Francis Ellis, Richard McCurdy, Marilyn Ford, and others whose names cannot be recalled.

Lincoln School was integrated by turning it into a fifth and sixth grade school, and the name was changed to Parkview.

Negro doctors have always found a good practice in this area. Dr. West, Dr. Crosby, Dr. Brumley, Dr. C. A. Griffin, and Dr. Clark have been the doctors practicing in Wynnewood and surrounding communities. Dr. Clark came to Wynnewood in 1915 and served the surrounding communities until 1958. Ill health forced him into part-time practice until his death in 1973. Dr. Brumley left and had a private practice in Boley, Oklahoma. Dr. Crosby had a hospital in Ft. Worth, Texas, after leaving Wynnewood.

Negro business grew with the population in Wynnewood. Raymond Ellis was a local barber and had a barbecue pit in east Wynnewood. Mrs. Lula Stevenson operated a boarding house on the west side of town. Lurena Kemp owned a rooming house on the block where the Wynnewood Water and Light plant is at present. Negro businesses occupied the west half block from Kerr Boulevard to Seminole Street. Some of the businesses in that area were a cafe run by Cyrus Johnson, W. J. H. Rice had a barber shop, a pool hall was run by Gabriel Kemp, and Dixie Smith, Jr., operated a grocery store on the corner of Seminole and Washita. Hebron Hart ran a cafe. Vaughn Hunger operated a cafe on North. Vernon Hunter owned a tavern for many years. Tim Perry had a grocery store and, later, a nice beer parlor on the same premises. Baker had a small confectionery store located between his home and Mt. Carmel Baptist Church. Mary Calhoun ran a bakery from her kitchen that supplied baked goods to the markets and cafes in town. She also co-owned several cafes in different parts

of the community before she became a popular chef at most of the leading restaurants in Wynnewood.

The Eastern Star was organized for the Negro women in 1909. Mrs. J. H. Gresham was the first Worthy Matron. They met in the Odd Fellows Hall because the Odd Fellows had disbanded several years before. The first members were Mattie Rice, Stella Owens, Odessa Owens, Eliza Hart, Sally Vaughn, Charlie Vaughn, Mrs. Driver, and Mrs. Henry Thomas.

An Old Folks Reunion was organized in 1912 at Hopewell Church. It has been held the second Sunday in July each year since. It is an all-day affair with church services morning and afternoon and dinner. Everyone in the surrounding communities contribute to the dinner. Many of the "old timers" return each year for this occasion.

Two Negro cemeteries are located in rural areas north and east of Wynnewood. Hopewell is located north of Wynnewood, and Oak Grove is each of Wynnewood.

APPENDIX D

ANNOUNCEMENT OF HOMECOMING SERVICE
FOR JOHN L. CALHOUN, SR.

HOMEcoming SERVICE

FOR

JOHN L. CALHOUN, SR.

JUNE 4, 1893 - MARCH 4, 1995

FUNERAL SERVICES SATURDAY MARCH 11, 1995

11:00 A.M.

FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH WYNNEWOOD, OKLAHOMA

REV. JERRY WELLS, PASTOR

REV. JERRY CALHOUN, OFFICIATING

ORDER OF SERVICE

PROCESSIONAL CAROL HAYDEN

CONGREGATIONAL SONG "WHAT A FRIEND WE HAVE"

NEW TESTAMENT SCRIPTURE REV. TERRAL RUSHING
MT. OLIVE, WYNNEWOOD

OLD TESTAMENT SCRIPTURE REV. HAROLD BREWER
MT. CARMEL, WYNNEWOOD

PRAYER REV. FRANK RUSHING
MT. ZION, WYNNEWOOD

SOLO NORA KNIGHTON

RESOLUTIONS MILDRED SMITH

SOLO LISA HENNESSEY

REMARKS (2 minute limit) REV. HENRY CALHOUN
REV. FRANK WASHINGTON
REV. H.C. CALHOUN
TITUS CALHOUN
OLIVER TAYLOR I
ATT. CLAYTON CALHOUN II
JOHN CALHOUN II
WILLIE MAY KING
OTHERS

SOLO LINDA CALHOUN

SILENT READING OF OBITUARY SOFT MUSIC

SOLO SANDY SIMPSON

EULOGY REV. JERRY CALHOUN

RECESSIONAL CAROL HAYDEN

DINNER WILL BE SERVED AT MT. CARMEL BAPTIST CHURCH

710 N. ROBBERSON

JOHN DOUGLAS CALHOUN,
Sr.

Funeral services for John D. Calhoun will be held Saturday, March 11, at 11 a.m. in the First Baptist Church of Wynnewood, Reverend Jerry Calhoun officiating. He died Saturday, March 4, 1995, at the Veteran's Hospital in Ardmore, Oklahoma at the age of 101.

John Calhoun was born to Sandy and Symyra Roark Calhoun on June 4, 1893, in Davidson, Texas, the second of ten children. He was a veteran of World War I.

Mr. Calhoun married Mary Jane Rucker in 1921. To this union of 74 years, thirteen children were born - seven boys and six daughters. At last count in 1993 he and Mary had 53 grandchildren, 101 great grandchildren, and 18 great great grandchildren.

His early church affiliation was with Pilgrim Rest Baptist Church, East Wynnewood. He was an astute Bible scholar and had achieved 33rd degree in Masonry. His church memberships included Second Community Baptist Church in Buttonwillow, California where he resided from the early fifties until 1986. He returned to Wynnewood and reunited with Mt. Carmel Baptist Church where he was a pioneer member.

Mr. Calhoun was preceded in death by his parents, his sisters, three brothers and two sons, Jessie and Joe Lewis.

He is survived by his wife Mary Jane Calhoun and dedicated son Clayton, of the home; his sons, Tommie Lee, John Jr., Bryce, and Marion Albert (Jerry); his daughters, Lorraine, Abilene, Martha, Erma, Miami and Norma Jean (Jeanie); two brothers, Sam Calhoun and Reverend Henry Calhoun; and his many grandchildren, great grandchildren, great great grandchildren, nieces and nephews.

Following services at First Baptist Church, interment will be in Oaklawn Cemetery of Wynnewood under the direction of DeArman Funeral Home.

Pallbearers

Kevin Taylor	Leon Calhoun
Gregory Newton	Neil Flowers
Bruce Hennessey	Junius Matthews

Honorary Pallbearers

Clayton Calhoun, Sr.	John Calhoun II
Tommie Lee Calhoun	Bryce Calhoun
Rev. Jerry Calhoun	Shedrick Shanks
J. C. Flowers	T. C. Flowers
Earnest Calhoun	Vernon Calhoun

Flower Bearers

Mary Ann High	Mar Jan Allen
Miami Flowers II	Myra Flowers
Martha Flowers	JuJuan D. Morris
Debbie Okojie	Marilyn Wallace
Adrienne Taylor	Beverly Nwankwo
	Karen Brown

- - - - -

Our Father knows what's best for us,
 so why should we complain?
 We always want the sunshine . . .
 but He knows there must be rain.

Our Father tests us often
 with suffering and sorrow.
 He tests us not to punish us
 but to help us meet tomorrow.

God never hurts us needlessly
 and He never wastes our pain.
 for every loss He sends to us
 is followed by rich gain.

But when he says, "Well done thou
 good and faithful servant", come,
 Our Father knows what's best.

Pallbearers

Kevin Taylor	Leon Calhoun
Gregory Newton	Neil Flowers
Bruce Hennessey	Junius Matthews

Honorary Pallbearers

Clayton Calhoun, Sr.	John Calhoun II
Tommie Lee Calhoun	Bryce Calhoun
Rev. Jerry Calhoun	Shedrick Shanks
J. C. Flowers	T. C. Flowers
Earnest Calhoun	Vernon Calhoun

Flower Bearers

Mary Ann High	Mar Jan Allen
Miami Flowers II	Myra Flowers
Martha Flowers	JuJuan D. Morris
Debbie Okojie	Marilyn Wallace
Adrienne Taylor	Beverly Nwankwo
	Karen Brown

- - - - -

Our Father knows what's best for us,
 so why should we complain?
 We always want the sunshine . . .
 but He knows there must be rain.

Our Father tests us often
 with suffering and sorrow.
 He tests us not to punish us
 but to help us meet tomorrow.

God never hurts us needlessly
 and He never wastes our pain.
 for every loss He sends to us
 is followed by rich gain.

But when he says, "Well done thou
 good and faithful servant", come,
 Our Father knows what's best.

APPENDIX E

FOURTH-GENERATION SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

SURVEY

A DESCRIPTIVE/ANALYTICAL STUDY: THE IMPACT OF
ASPECTS OF THEIR CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND EDUCATIONAL
EXPERIENCES ON A LIVING FIVE-GENERATION BLACK FAMILY IN THE
UNITED STATES, 1893-PRESENT

These survey questions will be used to interview members (ages 1-16) of a five-generation family for this study. The purpose of the study is to analyze aspects of the family's cultural, social, and educational experiences to obtain information to encourage and motivate students in the family to strive to achieve success in school and society. Note: Parental assistance may be necessary to complete this survey. Extra sheets are available for detailed answers.

1. How old are you? _____
2. Where were you born? _____
Where is your current residence? _____
3. Indicate the members of your household:
Mother _____ Father _____
Grandmother _____ Grandfather _____
Others _____
4. To what degree has religion influenced your life?
Very much ____, Moderately ____, Very Little ____
Explain (optional)
5. When did you begin school? Year _____ Age _____

6. What is your current grade level? (Please check)

- ☐ Preschool
☐ Elementary
☐ Middle School
☐ High School

7. Have your grades changed at each grade level? Please explain what affects your grades and/or influenced these changes. (Use extra paper if necessary)

8. Name your favorite subject(s) in school and explain why.

9. Did you participate in a busing program?

Yes ☐ No ☐

If yes, please describe your busing experience based on your cultural, social, and academic activities. (Use extra paper if necessary)

Language is a basic part of our cultural, social, and academic experiences. The following questions are related to language development, reading and writing skills, standard English, black slang, and stereotypical language.

10. How did you learn to read and write? Phonics ☐,
Pictures ☐, Other ☐

Describe each process. (Use extra paper if necessary)

How old were you when you learned to read?

11. Which of the following languages do you speak?

Standard English ☐, Black Dialect ☐, Both ☐

12. Which language is spoken by your parents?
Standard English ____, Black Dialect ____, Both ____
13. Which do you prefer to speak?
Standard English ____, Black Dialect ____, Both ____
Please explain.
14. Do you speak the same language at home and school?
Yes ____ No ____ Sometimes ____ Explain in detail.
15. Have you been affected by stereotypical language?
Yes ____ No ____ If yes, give examples.

Testing is widely used in schools. The results from these tests can affect students' lives positively and/or negatively. This study is interested in how testing affects you in school and society.

16. What kind of tests do you prefer?
Essay ____, Multiple Choice ____, True and False ____,
Other ____
17. How do you score on standardized tests?
Very High ____, Fair ____, Average ____, Not Very High ____
18. In your opinion, what affects your test scores?
Explain.
19. How does testing affect how well you do in school?
Explain.

20. Who and what motivates you to do well in school (parents, teachers, friends, etc.)? Explain in detail.
21. Who and what interferes with how well you do in school? Explain in detail.
22. What do you need at home and school to help you to succeed?

Results from this study will hopefully provide information to guide and motivate students to strive for excellence; therefore, it is important for participants to discuss personal experiences which promote or prohibit academic and social success.

23. Identify and discuss aspects of family living that influenced your educational experience.
Positively ____, Negatively ____, Both ____ Explain.
24. How have cultural and social factors (things) affected your educational experience?
Positively ____, Negatively ____, Both ____ Explain.
25. Describe what you view as your strengths and weaknesses in school. Explain in detail.

Thank you for participating in this interview process.

REFERENCES

- Abalos, D. T. (1993). The Latin family and the politics of transformation. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Abrams, A. E. (1985). Special treatment: The untold story of the survival of thousands of Jews of Hitler's Third Reich. Secaucus, NJ: L. Stuart.
- Acosta-Belen, E., & Sjostrom, B. R. (1988). The Hispanic experience in the United States: Contemporary issues and perspectives. New York: Praeger.
- Adams, D. W. (1975). The federal Indian boarding school: A study of environment and response, 1879-1918. Ann Arbor, MI: Zerox University.
- Adams, K. L., & Brink, D. T. (1990). Perspectives on official English. New York: Mouton de Gruger.
- Allan, G. (1985). Family life. New York: Basil Blackwell.
- Anderson, A. B., & James, S. (1981). Ethnicity in Canada. Toronto: Butterworth.
- Anderson, D., & Dawson, G. (1986). Great Britain. Esdmonde.
- Arcieniega, M, Casaus, L., & Castillo, M. (1978). Parenting models and Mexican American families. San Diego: California School Finances Reform Project.
- Arizona Daily Star. (1994, November). Parade Magazine, 8.

- "ASU earns master's degree at 89." (1993, May 14). Arizona Daily Star, B9.
- Banks, J. A. (1988). Multiethnic education: Theory and practice. Boston: Allyn/Bacon.
- Banks, J. A. (1990, June 17). Minority gains limited in LA busing program. Los Angeles Times, A1.
- Bass, B. A., Wyatt, G. E., & Powell, G. J. (1983). The Afro-American family. New York: Grune/Stratton.
- Bauer, Y. (1981). American Jewry and the holocaust. Detroit: Wayne State University.
- Bayme, S., & Rosen, G. (1974). The Jewish family and Jewish continuity. Hoboken, NJ: Tau.
- Bell, D. (1980). Shades of brown: New perspectives on school desegregation. New York: Teachers College.
- Berry, G. L., & Asaman, J. K. (1989). Black students: Psychosocial issues and academic achievement. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Billingsley, A. (1968). Black families in white America. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Blauner, B. (1989). Black lives, white lives. Berkeley: University of California.
- Blockman, C. L., & Fry, R. (1977). Black genealogy. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prince Hall.
- Borg, W. R., & Gale, M. D. (1989). Educational research. New York: Longman.

Brodkey, L. (1987, January). Writing ethnographic narrative. Written Communication, 4(1), 25.

Brooks, R. L. (1990). Rethinking the American race problems. Los Angeles: University of California.

Champagne, D. (1994). Native American almanac. Detroit: Visible Ink.

Chan, S. (1991). Asian-American: An interpretive history. Boston: Twayne.

The changing face of America. (1991, February 8). Junior Scholarastic, 93(11), 2-9.

Chen, J. (1980). The American dream from the beginning to the present. North Scituate, MA: Duxbury.

Chimezie, A. (1984). Black culture, theory and practice. Shaker Heights, OH: Keeble.

Clark, R. M. (1983). Family life and school achievement: Why black children succeed or fail. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Cohen, S. M., & Hyman, P. E. (1986). The Jewish family. New York: Holmes/Meier.

Copeland, A. P., & White, K. M. (1991). Family studies. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Cornell, S. (1988). The reality of the native: American Indian political resurgence. New York: Oxford University.

Cuba, E., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1989). Fourth generation evaluator. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Davis, R. A. (1993). The black family in a changing black community. New York: Garland.

Daws, D. (1979). The child psychotherapist and problems of young people. London: Wildwood House.

de la Garza, R. (1985). Ignored voices: Public opinion polls and the Latino community center for Mexican-Americans. Austin: University of Texas.

Deloria, V., Jr., & Lytle, C. M. (1993). American Indians: America. Austin, TX: University of Austin.

Delpit, L. (1990, August). The silenced dialogue. Howard Review, 58(3), 288-298.

Dempsey, J. J. (1981). The family and public policy. Baltimore: Paul Brookes.

Dillard, J. L. (1972). Black English: Its history and usage in the United States. New York: Random House.

Dychtwalld, K., & Flower, J. (1989). Age wave: The challenges and opportunities of an aging American. New York: Martin.

Edward, R. (1993). Mature women students, Separating or connecting family and education. London: Taylor/Francis.

England, R. E., & Morgan, D. R. (1986). Desegregating big city schools: Strategic outcomes and impacts. New York: National University.

Engram, E. (1982). Science, myth, reality. Westport, CT: Greenwood.

Erikson, E. H. (1950). Childhood of society. New York: Norton.

Erikson, E. H. (1981, May). On generality and identity. Harvard Review, 51(2), 249-269.

Eyre, L., & Eyre, R. (1995). Steps to strong families. New York: Macmillan.

Father hunger. (1990, November). Essence, 70(7), 73.

Fishman, J. A. (1972). Language and nationalism. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Flexner, S. B., & Hauck, L. C. (Eds.) The Random House Dictionary of the English Language. New York: Random.

Frazier, E. F. (1939). The Negro family in the United States. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Galenson, D. W. (1981). White servitude in colonial America: An economic analysis. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University.

Getting to the heart of the American family. (1992). Life (Collectors' Edition), 15(5A), 4, 17.

Goldstein, R. (1976). Black life and culture in the U.S. New York: Thomas Crowell.

Goodman, K. (1981). Linguistic diversity, teacher preparation and professional development. In G. Smitherman (Ed.), Black English (p. 171). Detroit: Center for Blacks, Wayne State University.

Goodman, K. (1990, January). The Reading Teacher, 43(4), 302-315.

Gore, T. (1994, September 11). We have to do better. Arizona Daily Star, Parade Magazine, 4-7.

"Grandmother, 91, close to getting GED." (1993, March 28). Arizona Daily Star, B13.

Hagestad, G. O. (1984). Multigenerational families: Socialization, support, strain. In V. Garms-Homolovia. Homolovia, E. Hoerning, & D. Schaeffer (Eds.), Intergenerational relationships. New York: C. T. Hoegrefe.

Hale-Benson, J. E. (1982). Black children: Their roots, culture and learning styles. Provo, UT: Brigham Young University.

Haley, A. (1976). Roots. New York: Doubleday.

Haley, A. (1990, March). The way we were. Ebony, XLV(5), 16.

Herbert Kirk, age 97 years old, graduated from Montana State University. (1993, May 17). USA Today, A6.

Hill, R. B. (1972). The strengths of black families. New York: Emerson Hall.

Hill, R. B. (1993). Research on the African American family. Westport, CT: Auburn House.

Hopson, D., & Hopson, D. (1990). Different and wonderful: Raising black children in a race conscious society. New York: Prentice Hall.

Howard, J. K. (1952). Strange empire. New York: Morrow.

Hsu, F. (1971). The challenge of the American dream. Belmont, CA: Wadworth.

Hughes, R. (1983, Winter). The nontraditional student in higher education: A synthesis of the literature. NASPA Journal, 20(3), 51-61.

Hutter, M. (1988). The changing family: Comparative Perspective. New York: Macmillan.

Jackson, J. S. (1991). Life in black America. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Jaynes, G. D., & Williams, R. (1989). A common destiny: Blacks and American society. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.

Johnson, J. H. (1993, August). Publisher's message: Ebony, XLVIII(10), 6.

Johnson, W. (1977). The church and black family. Memphis: Christian Methodist Church.

Jones, D. (1991). Prescriptions and policies. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.

Jones, J. M. (1972). Prejudice and racism. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Jules-Rossette, B., & Megan, H. (1986). Schools and social structures: An inactionist perspective. In J. Prager, D. Longshore, & M. Seeman (Eds.), School desegregation research (pp. 205-228). New York: Plenum.

Justiz, M. J., Wilson, R., & Bjork, L. G. (1994). Minorities in higher education, American Council on Education. Phoenix, AZ: Oryx.

Kitano, R., Rogers, D., Taylor, S., & Arrington, L. J. (1991). Japanese Americans from relocation to redress. Seattle: University of Washington.

Kromkowski, J. (1993). Race and ethnic relations. Guilford, CT: Dushkin.

Li, M. H. (1990). Understanding Asian-Americans: A curriculum resource guide. New York: Neal-Schuman.

Liberson, S. (1980). A piece of the pie: Black and white immigrants since 1880. Berkeley: University of California.

Lindfors, J. W. (1987). Children's language and learning. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Loevy, R. D. (1990). To end all segregation. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Mack, R. W. (1968). Our children's burden: Studies of desegregation in eight American communities. New York: Random House.

Mangen, d., Bengton, V. L., and Landry, P. H., Jr. (1987). Measurement of intergenerational relations. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Mangiafico, L. (1988). Contemporary American patterns of Filipino, Korean and Chinese settlements in the United States. New York: Praeger.

Marshall, C., & Ross, G. (1989). Designing qualitative research. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

McBeth, S. J. (1983). Ethnic identity and the boarding school experience of West Central Oklahoma Indians. Washington, DC: University Press of America.

McCarty, T. L. (1989, November). School as a community: The Rough Rock demonstration. Harvard Educational Review, 59(4), 484-503.

Melendy, H. B. (1972). The Oriental American. New York: Twayne.

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1984). Qualitative data analysis. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Miller, B. C. (1986). Family research methods. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Mindel, C. H., & Habenstein, R. W. (1976). Ethnic families in America. New York: Elsevier.

Montagu, A. (1963). Race, science for cultural humanity. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Moynihan, D. P., & Glazer, N. (1963). Beyond the melting pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.

Moynihan, D. P., Glazer, N., & Saposs, S. C. (1975). The melting pot. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.

Myrdal, G. (1944) An American dilemma. New York: Harper Brothers.

Neidle, C. S. (1967). The new American. New York: Twayne.

News Week. (1992, June 8), 20(15), 5a.

Novak, M. (1979). The family: America's hope. Rockford, IL: Rockford College.

Ogber, J. (1983). School in the inner city. Society, 21(1), 75-79.

Palmer, A. W. (1934). Orientals in American life. New York: Friendship.

Patterson, R. (1971). The Negro and his needs. Freeport, NY: Brooks Library.

Pearson, C., Shavlik, D. L., & Touchton, J. G. (1989). Educating the majority: Women challenge tradition in higher education. New York: Macmillan.

Pessin, D. (1966). History of the Jews in America. New York: United Synagogue of America.

Pleur, M. (1982). Jewish life in the 20th century.
Chicago: Nelson/Hall.

Postman, N., Weingartner, C., & Moran, T. P. (1969).
Language in America. New York: Pagajus.

Poussaint, A. F., & Comer, J. P. (1975). Black child
care: How to bring up a healthy black child in America.
New York: Simon & Schuster.

Pozetta, G. E. (1991). Politics and the immigrant.
New York: Garland.

Preger, J., Lamphore, D., & Seeman, M. (1986). School
desegregation research. New York: Plenum.

Price, L. W. (1982). The implications of existential
psychology for the black experience with applications. Palo
Alto, CA: R & E Research Associates.

Queen, S., & Haberstein, R. (1967). The family in
various cultures. Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott.

Reed, W. L. (1993). African-Americans. Westport, CT:
Auburn House.

Romano, V., & Ignacio, O. (1971). Voices: Reading
from El Grito. Berkeley: Quinto Sol.

Rose, L. R. (1980). The black woman. Newbury Park,
CA: Sage.

Ross, J. M. (1988). Transitions, triggers, and the
return to college: No simple decision. Journal of College
Student Development, 29, 112-117.

Ruiz, R. (1987). Introduction. In W. Van Horne (Ed.), Ethnicity and language (pp. 1-14). Madison: University of Wisconsin.

Ruiz, R. (1989). The empowerment of language minority students. In C. Sleeter (Ed.), Empowerment through multicultural education (pp. 257-258). Albany: State University of New York.

Schlesinger, B. (1987). Jewish family issues: A resource guide. New York: Garland.

Sherman, C. B. (1961). The Jew within American society: A study in ethnic individuality. Detroit: Wayne State University.

Smith, A. E. (1947). Colonist in bondage: White servitude and convict labor in America, 1607-1776. Chapel Hill, NC: University Carolina.

Smith, J. O. (1987). The politics of racial inequality. New York: Greenwood.

Sowell, T. (1984). Civil rights: Rhetoric or reality. New York: Wiley.

Spanier, B., Bloom, A., & Boroviak, D. (1984). Toward a balanced curriculum: A sourcebook for initiating gender initiation projects. Cambridge, MA: Schenkman.

Spanier, B. (1989, February). Bequeathing family continuity. Journal of Marriage and Family, 51.

Spradley, J. (1971). The ethnography interview. New York: Holt, Rhinehart, & Winston.

Staples, R., & Johnson, L. B. (1993). Black families at the crossroad: Challenges and Prospects. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Statistical abstract of the United States: The national data book. (1994). Washington, DC: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Steinberg, S. (1981). The ethnic myth. New York: Atheneum.

Steine, J. (Ed.). (1973). Random House dictionary of the English language. New York: Random House.

Sternberg, L., Tobin, G. A., & Fishman, S. B. (1991). Changing Jewish life: Service delivery and planning in the 1990s. New York: Greenwood.

St. John, N. (1975). School desegregation outcomes for children. New York: Wiley & Sons.

Taulbert, C. L. (1989). Once upon a time when we were colored. Tulsa, OK: Council Oaks.

Taylor, R. (1969). Cultural ways. Boston: Allan/Bacon.

Taylor, D., & Gaines, C. D. (1988). Growing up literate. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Tittle, C. K., & Denker, E. R. Returning women students in higher education. New York: Praeger.

United States National Center for Educational
Statistical Digest of Education Statistics. (1994).
 Washington, DC: Author.

Usner, D. H. (1992, Winter). Journal of Ethnic
History, 11(2), 77.

Valentine, R. (1968). Culture and poverty: Critique
and counter-proposals. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Vogel, V. (1972). This land is ours. New York:
 Harper & Row.

Wagner, S. M. (1977). The traditions of the American
Jews. New York: KTAV.

Weber, D. J. (1973). Foreigners in their native land.
 Albuquerque: University of New Mexico.

Websters dictionary. (1991). New York: Landoll.

Wei, W. (1993). Asian-American movement.
 Philadelphia: Temple University.

White, J. L. (1984). The psychology of black: An
Afro-American perspective. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice
 Hall.

Williams, M. D. (1981). The human dilemma: A decade
later in Belmar. New York: Harcourt Brace Jananovich.

Willie, C. (1988). A new look at black families. Dix
 Hills, NY: General Hall.

Wilson, W. J. (1978). The declining significance of
race. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Winters, W. G. (1993). African-American mothers and urban schools. New York: Lexington.

Wirth, L. (1929). The ghetto. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wirtz, D. S., & Marl, F. (1979). Basic education for children with learning disabilities. Springfield, IL: Marling.

Zenner, W. P. (1988). Persistence and flexibility: Anthropological perspectives on the American Jewish experience. New York: State University of New York.

Zinn, H. (1990). A people's history of the United States. New York: Harper/Collins.